Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Literature

BY

ANTHONY PELZER WAGENER

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1910

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
WITHDRAWN

BALTIMORE
J. H. FURST COMPANY
1912

781
65W
UNCLASSED
Dissertation

Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Literature

BY

ANTHONY PELZER WAGENER

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1910

BALTIMORE
J. H. FURST COMPANY
1912

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

Introduction 5

Bibliography 7

The Right Hand as the Active Agent 9

The Right Hand as a Pledge of Good Faith 13

The Right Hand in the Expression of Emotion 18

The Left Hand as the Dishonorable Member 22

Association of the Right with the Male, of the Left with the Female .. 31

In Dreams 31

In the Determination of Sex 34

Right Side as the Position of Honor 37

ἐπιδέξια and ἐπαρίστερα as Orders of Procedure 39

Superstitions Based upon the Derived Associations of Right and Left. 41

pes dexter and *pes sinister* 42

The Two Ways 43

Sneezing 44

Right and Left in Augury 47

Signa impetrita 47

Signa oblativa 50

Use of *dexter, sinister* and *laevus* with derived meanings 56

POPULAR ASSOCIATIONS OF RIGHT AND LEFT IN ROMAN LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Popular associations with right and left are primitive and universal. At all events, we may safely conclude that the distinction between the right and the left first arose in connection with the hands; and from the earliest period we find men using one hand in preference to the other. Indeed, it is an established fact that human beings are naturally right-handed.[1]

This being the case, the right hand was the one naturally employed for any action requiring skill, accuracy, or strength. In contrast with the left, therefore, it came to be regarded as the reliable member. "This distinction appears to be coeval with the earliest use of language."[2] As the right was the hand used by the majority of people, it was the regular one to use; therefore anything done by it was done in the regular and correct way. Hence the result was most likely to be favorable.

Then by a simple step the right hand itself began to be identified with the favorable, and therefore the lucky. From the hand the transference of the association to the right in general was quite easy.

The development in the case of the left proceeded upon lines exactly parallel to those followed by the right, although tending in the opposite direction. Thus the idea of weakness, uncertainty, and unreliability was ordinarily attached to the

[1] Sir Daniel Wilson, *Left-Handedness* (1891).

[2] Wilson, *l. c.*, p. 76.

left. This would naturally suggest the unreliable and untrustworthy in a moral sense.[1]

As contrasted with the right, the employment of the left hand was unusual and therefore unnatural. It is a well-known fact that among the untrained or the primitive any departure from regular custom is regarded with great suspicion. Hence an action performed with the left hand might be looked upon, merely for that reason, as ill-omened.

As a final step, the left became practically synonymous with the unfavorable and the unlucky.

Such in brief must have been the development of this conception among the Romans, as well as among other nations and races. That it took place quite early is proved by the fact that in the oldest remains of Latin and Greek literature we find the characteristics of favorable and unfavorable, lucky and unlucky, firmly attached to right and left.

In this investigation the main lines of development leading from the purely physical qualities belonging to the right and left hands to the final association of the right with the favorable and the lucky, and the left with the unfavorable and the unlucky, have been traced as far as was practicable. It must be borne in mind, however, that this development cannot be set forth chronologically. As the whole process was entirely completed in primitive and pre-literary times, all the stages represented in the literature exist side by side, at one and the same time.

---

[1] Wilson, *l. c.*, p. 75.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the course of this investigation, examination has been made of all existing Latin literature from its beginning through the writers of the second century A. D. In addition there have been consulted Prudentius; Claudian; Martianus Capella; Pseudo-Pliny, *De Medicina;* Marcellus, *De Medicamentis;* and Pelagonius, *Ars Veterinaria.*

For comparison the following Greek authors were consulted, chiefly by means of indices: Homer, *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* Hesiod; Aeschylus; Sophocles; Herodotus; Euripides; Thucydides; Aristophanes; Xenophon; Plato; Demosthenes; Aristotle; Plutarch; Athenaeus; Artemidorus; Geoponica (ed. Beckh, Leipzig, 1895).

Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library (1911), No. 28, pp. 56 ff.

Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker,* Berlin, 1903.

—— Melampus, 'Περὶ Παλμῶν Μαντική,' *Abhandlungen der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1907.

Greek Papyri in the British Museum, 1, Nos. 46, 47, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, pp. 64-125.

Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum.*

Parthey, 'Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums,' *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* 1865, pp. 109 ff.

Reiske, *Indices Graecitatis in Singulos Oratores Atticos* (which includes Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isaeus, Isocrates, Aeschines, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus).

Wessely, 'Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris u. London,' *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Vienna, 1865, pp. 109 ff.

The chief general works which were found to be of assistance are:

Browne (Sir Thomas), *Pseudodoxia Epidemica,* Bk. 4, Ch. 4 and 5 (ed. by Charles Sayle, London, 1904).

Dieterich, *Nekyia,* Leipzig, 1893.

Fryklund, *Les Changements de Signification des Expressions de Droite et de Gauche dans les Langues Romanes et Spécialement en Français,* Upsala, 1907.

Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* Leipzig, 1853.

——— *Teutonic Mythology* (Trans. by Stallybrass), London, 1880-3.

Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer,* Leipzig, 1886.

——— *Römische Staatsverwaltung,* ed. 1881.

Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht,* ed. 1887.

Preller-Jordan, *Römische Mythologie,* Berlin, 1881-3.

Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde,* Leipzig, 1885.

Valeton, 'De Modis Auspicandi Romanorum,' *Mnemosyne* 17 (1889), pp. 275 ff.

Wilson (Sir Daniel), *Lefthandedness,* London and New York, 1891.

Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer,* Munich, 1902 (in Müller's Handbuch).

Other references will be found in the footnotes in connection with special points.

THE RIGHT HAND AS THE ACTIVE AGENT

Being physically the superior, the right hand is the one naturally employed in the performance of any work. In the words of Vergil (*Moretum,* 25): 'laeva ministerio, dextra est intenta labori.' So too in war it is the right hand which carries the sword and other offensive weapons, while the protecting shield is entrusted to the left. Cicero had this in mind when speaking of M. Caelius Rufus, the orator (Quintilian, *Inst.* 6, 3, 69): 'Idem per allegoriam M. Caelium melius obiicientem crimina quam defendentem, Bonam dextram, malam sinistram habere dicebat.' Cf. Artemidorus, *Onirocritica* 1, ch. 42: *σημαίνειν γὰρ ἔφη τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τὰ ποριζόμενα τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον τὰ πεπορισμένα, ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ἕτοιμος, ἡ δὲ ἐπιτήδειος πρὸς τὸ φυλάξαι.* Cf. 5, 92.[1]

From these two causes primarily arose the association of the right hand with the active agent. Proofs of this are numerous throughout the literature:

Horace, *Epodes,* 7, 9: 'sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua | urbs haec periret dextera?'

Vergil, *Aen.*, 11, 384: 'quando tot stragis acervos | Teucrorum tua dextra dedit, passimque tropaeis | insignis agros.'

Of similar nature are: Accius, *Ex Incert. Fab.,* fr. 2,[2] Catullus, 33, 1; Varro, *Sat. Men.* 170, 13; Vergil, *Aen.* 1, 98; 334; 2, 425; 3, 670; 5, 692; 6, 370; 879; 7, 474; 498; 8, 354; 563; 567; 9, 320; 10, 279; 326; 333; 650; 773; 830; 847; 11, 118; 172; 178; 267; 339; 408; 12, 14; 50; 97; 428; 436; 538; 644; 659; *Ecl.,* 1, 35; *Culex,* 192; 256; Tibullus, 3, 5, 9; Horace, *Odes,* 2, 17, 29; 3, 3, 52; *Sat.* 2,

[1] Cf. p. 31.

[2] Ribbeck, *Sc. Rom. Poes. Frag.*, I, p. 254.

1, 54; Propertius 3, 27, 39; Livy 3, 57, 4; 6, 14, 4; 16, 2; 7, 32, 12; 22, 5, 6; 29, 11; 23, 45, 9; 27, 45, 7; 34, 46, 10; 35, 35, 17; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 305; 4, 175; 7, 342; 808; 8, 94; 342; 395; 9, 29; 10, 198; 11, 23; 12, 114; 311; 606; 13, 176; 355; 361; 14, 194; 539; *Am.* 2, 9, 36; A. A. 1, 694; 2, 78; 736; *Her.* 6, 12; 10, 102; 12, 115; 14, 50; Fast. 1, 569; 2, 10; *Trist.* 5, 2, 16; 6, 14; *Ib.* 526; *Pont.* 2, 2, 13; 4, 7, 19; *Med. Fac.* 64; Lucan, *Phars.* 2, 167; 3, 18; 326; 740; 5, 355; 368; 7, 387; 8, 601; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 157; 518; 895; 968; 1005; 1010; 1197; 1281; 1318; *Phaed.* 60; 396; 555; 680; 866; *Oed.* 257; 261; 1002; 1038; 1048; *Agam.* 50; 550; 628; 735; 890; 897; *Phoen.* 173; 437; *Medea,* 104; 645; 915; *Thyestes,* 57; 147; *Troades,* 155; 217; 306; 328; 1097; 1155; *Oct.* 247; 297; 594; *Herc. Oet.* 28; 520; 870; 901; 908; 932; 951; 977; 988; 995; 999; 1001; 1217; 1454; 1458; 1465; 1560; 1656; 1719; Petronius, 122, 167; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 6, 339; Martial, *Sp.,* 23, 2; 1, 21, 1; 7; 7, 20, 16; 9, 61, 7; 11, 29, 1; 14, 208; Statius, *Silvae,* 3, 4, 54; Silius Italicus, *Pun.,* 5, 661; 6, 340; 9, 124; 10, 257; 12, 670; 15, 385; 744; 16, 145; 17, 296; Juvenal, 15, 67, Apuleius, *Met.* 1, 13, 48; 8, 8, 532; 12, 539; 540; 11, 25, 807; *De Deo Socratis,* 131; Amm. Marc. 14, 5, 8; 16, 12, 36; 12, 52; 25, 1, 15; 3, 7; Prudentius, *c. Symm.* 2, 35; *Peristeph.,* 4, 9; 5, 300; Martianus Capella, 2, 135; 5, 425, l. 13; Ribbeck, *Sc. Rom. Poes. Frag.* 1, p. 276, No. 15.

With his right hand Jupiter hurls the blazing thunderbolt. Horace, *Odes,* 1, 2, 1; 'Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae | Grandinis misit Pater et rubente | Dextera sacras iaculatus arces | Terruit urbem.' Vergil, *Georg.* 1, 328: 'ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca | fulmina molitur dextra.' Ovid, *Met.* 2, 60; 311; *Am.* 3, 3, 30; *Fast.* 1, 202; *Rem. Am.* 370; Martial 6, 83, 3.

The augur, when engaged in the performance of his office, held the *lituus* in his right hand. Livy 1, 18, 7: 'augur ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt.' Cur-

tius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 4, 15, 27; cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 11, 6, 765; 12, 778.

The sceptre was usually held in the right hand, although we find mention of the use of the left hand also. Ovid, *Fast.* 6, 37: 'cur igitur regina vocor princepsque dearum? | aurea cur dextrae sceptra dedere meae?' Vergil, *Aen.* 12, 206; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 264; *Am.* 3, 1, 34; Seneca, *Oed.* 642; *Left*: Ovid, *Met.* 7, 506; *Am.* 3, 1, 13; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2, 590.

Upon such associations as these must be based the explanation of the specific mention of the right hand in certain connections, such as:

In commanding silence: Persius, 4, 8; Lucan, *Phars.* 1, 297; Claudian, 15, 133.

In making an address: Vergil, *Aen.* 12, 196; 579; Statius, *Theb.* 12, 255; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2, 26; Apuleius, *Met.* 2, 21, 142; *Orestis Tragoedia,* 685.[1]

In restraining: Vergil, *Aen.* 2, 592; 12, 311; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3, 269; Suetonius, *Tib.* 25, 22; Apuleius, *Met.* 1, 17, 57; 25, 76; 26, 79; Plato, *Protagoras,* 335 D.

In pointing out an object: Apuleius, *Met.,* 1, 12, 46.

Vengeance is inflicted upon an enemy with the right hand. Seneca, *Medea,* 531: 'Nunc summe toto Iuppiter caelo tona | intende dextram, vindices flammas para.' Prudentius, *Cath.* 5, 82: 'qui domitam Pharon | plagis multimodis cedere praesuli | cogis iustitiae vindice dextera,' Seneca, *Phoen.* 91; Silius Italicus, *Il. Lat.* 819;[2] *Pun.* 15, 793.

'Dextram conferre' is used by Prudentius in the sense of 'join in battle with.' *Psychomachia,* 240: 'quam pudet, o Mavors et Virtus, conscia, talem | contra stare aciem ferroque lacessere nugas, | et cum virgineis dextram conferre choreis.' Cf. Plautus, *Merc.,* 964; Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 37.

Since it is with the right hand that any action requiring

[1] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 5, p. 249, No. 55.
[2] Baehrens, *l. c.,* 3, p. 47.

strength is performed, *dextra* is itself often identified with strength or valor. Ovid, *Met.* 14, 108: '"magna petis," dixit "vir factis maxime cuius | dextera per ferrum, pietas spectata per ignes."' Vergil, *Aen.* 2, 291; *Seneca, Herc. Oet.* 1174; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 9, 436; 13, 151; 184; 378; 452; 15, 92; 258; 733; 16, 32; 85; 550; 668; *Il. Lat.* 275; 330;[1] Juvenal, 3, 48.

Worthy of comparison is the use of the abstract noun 'dexteritas,' coined from dexter, with the meaning aptness or readiness. Livy, 28, 18, 6: 'tanta autem inerat comitas Scipioni atque ad omnia naturalis ingenii dexteritas, ut . . .' Livy, 37, 7, 15; Aulus Gellius, 13, 17, 1.

Dextra is twice found used for the whole man. This transference is quite natural. Still more common is *dextrae* equal to *milites*. Since it is the most essential part of a soldier, the entire man is, as it were, identified with his right hand. *dextra = vir.* Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 7, 63: "certaverit unus | ter centum dextris.' Lucan, *Phars.* 3, 310.

Quite similar is the occurrence of *dextella* and *dextera* in the sense of 'right hand man.' Cicero, *Att.* 14, 20, 5: 'Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antonii est dextella.' *Elegia in Maecenatem*, 13:[2] 'Regis eras, Etrusce, genus; tu Caesaris almi | Dextera, Romanae tu vigil urbis eras.'

Dextrae = milites: Claudian, 5, 262: 'Spernisne tuas, dux optime, dextras | Quas tibi victrices totiens Bellona probavit.' Livy, 23, 9, 6; Lucan, *Phars.* 4, 207; 7, 366; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 1, 348; 8, 402; 14, 238; 15, 495; 564; 16, 18.

Interesting in this connection as showing the belief in the general superiority of the right over the left, are two passages from Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 9, 15, 50: 'thynni dextera ripa intrant, exeunt laeva, id accidere existumatur, quia dextro oculo plus cernant utroque natura hebeti'; and 17, 21, 153: 'sic palmites, nepotes, uvae, folia, pampini gignuntur, mir-

[1] Baehrens, *l. c.*, 3, p. 21.
[2] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 1, p. 126.

umque firmiora esse in dextera parte genita.' Cf. Apuleius, *Apologia,* 51, 5.

By the recognition of this same idea is furnished also an explanation for Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* 6, 1, 7: 'Dubio et incipiente morbo quaeritur nomen, qui ubi talaria coepit intendere et utrosque dextros pedes fecit, necesse est podagram fateri.'

Further evidence for the precedence taken over the left hand by the right is furnished by the ancient system of finger counting. In this units and tens were counted on the left hand, hundreds and thousands on the right.[1] Juvenal, 10, 248: 'Felix nimirum, qui tot per saecula mortem | Distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos.' 'Nestor, who has lived three saecula (i. e. 100 years), is beginning to tell his years on the right hand.' Plautus, *Mil.* 203; Suetonius, *Claud.* 21, 32.

It is in these fundamental conceptions that the ultimate reason for the association of the right with the lucky and favorable and of the left with the unlucky and unfavorable must be sought. From such a starting point the development is natural and easily understood.

THE RIGHT HAND AS A PLEDGE OF GOOD FAITH

The use of the right hand as a pledge of good faith is a practice which belonged to the Romans in common with many other peoples. The explanation of its origin is obvious. As has been already noted, in fighting the weapons for attack were carried in the right hand. When peace therefore was made between two adversaries, in approaching one another the right hand was naturally extended to show that it was weaponless and that no treachery was contemplated. Then to ratify the truce the two right hands were clasped. Thus very easily

[1] Mayor, Note on Juvenal, 10, 249: Wilson, Note on Juvenal, 10, 249.

arose the conception that the right hand was the especial seat of good faith, and whenever a sign of good faith was required, the right hand was involved as its symbol. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11, 45, 250: 'inest et aliis partibus quaedam religio, sicut dextera oculis aversa adpetitur, in fide porrigitur.' Either the actual physical hand was grasped, or it might be used in a purely symbolical sense. Here may be mentioned the several signs by means of which an enemy indicated his desire to make peace. This might be done by simply stretching out his right hand. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia,* 4, 2, 17-19: *ἐκ τούτου πέμπει τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτούς, τάξας λέγειν, εἰ φίλοι εἰσίν, ὡς τάχιστα ὑπαντᾶν τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας· . . . καὶ οἴχεται ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ἀγγέλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τις σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐροῦντες, εἰ φίλοι εἰσίν, ὑπαντιάζειν τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας πάντας. . . . οἱ δὲ Ὑρκάνιοι ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγέλων ἥσθησάν τε καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους παρῆσαν τὰς δεξιὰς, ὥσπερ εἴρητο, προτείνοντες.* Plutarch, *Sulla,* 467 C.

Or the right shoulder might be uncovered. Caesar, *B. G.,* 7, 50, 2: 'hi similitudine armorum vehementer nostros perterruerunt, ac tametsi dextris humeris exsertis animadvertebantur, quod insigne pacatorum esse consuerat, tamen id ipsum sui fallendi causa milites ab hostibus factum existimabant.'

Or a branch of olive might be extended in the right hand. Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 13, 68: 'tum, pignora pacis | praetendens dextra ramum canentis olivae.'

In all of these, of course, the object is to prove the absence of weapons.

Other similar uses of the right hand are:

As a pledge of friendship and alliance: Vergil, *Aen.* 3, 83: 'iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus'; Euripides, *Iph. in Aulis,* 57: *καί νιν εἰσῆλθεν τάδε, | ὅρκους συνάψαι δεξιάς τε συμβαλεῖν | μνηστῆρας ἀλλήλοισι*; [Caesar], *Bell. Alex.* 24, 2; Vergil, *Aen.* 1, 408; 514; 6, 697; 8, 163; 169; 467; 9, 741; 11, 165; 292; Livy, 7, 42, 6; 22, 30, 6; 23, 9, 3; 25, 16, 13; Ovid, *Met.* 6, 447; 506; *Her.* 2, 31; 12, 90; Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 6, 5, 4; 10, 11; Seneca,

Herc. Fur. 371; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3, 18; 6, 12; 7, 344; Statius, *Theb.* 1, 470; 2, 149; 3, 699; 6, 268; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6, 421; 8, 59; 11, 149; 13, 76; 15, 288; 16, 154; Suetonius, *Caes.* 81, 22; Aulus Gellius, 12, 8, 3; Claudian, 3, 223; 13, 7; 15, 352; Maximianus, *Elegiae,* 3, 75;[1] *Anthol. Lat.* 198, l. 71[2]; 208, l. 47[3]; Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 5, p. 421, No. 113, l. 5; No. 118, l. 86; Aristophanes, *Frogs,* 789; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 4, 2, 7 and 13; 6, 10; 5, 2, 14; 6, 3, 13; *Oec.* 4, 25.

The right hand was given to ratify a treaty or an agreement, and also as a pledge of reconciliation. Livy, 3, 2, 3: 'legatos in concilium gentis missos nuntiare iussit Q. Fabium consulem dicere se ex Aequis pacem Romam tulisse, ab Roma Aequis bellum adferre eadem dextera armata, quam pacatam illis antea dederat'; Plutarch, *Crassus,* 562 F: Σουρήνας δὲ . . . τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν προὔτεινεν, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπὶ συμβάσεις; Cornelius Nepos, 2 (*Them.*) 8, 4; Livy, 1, 1, 8; Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 6, 7, 35; 8, 12, 10; Sophocles, *Philoct.* 942; Euripides, *Medea,* 898; Xenophon, *Anab.* 1, 66; 7, 3, 1; *Cyrop.* 3, 2, 14; 8, 8, 2; *Hist. Graec.* 4, 1, 15 and 29; Plutarch, *Flamininus,* 372 A.

Hence the use of *dextra data, dextrae datae,* in the sense of treaty or agreement. Vergil, *Aen.* 10, 515: 'Pallas, Evander, in ipsis | omnia sunt oculis, mensae, quas advena primas | tunc adiit, dextraeque datae'; Vergil, *Aen.* 4, 307; 7, 366; Livy, 30, 13, 8; 41, 25, l. 11; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 297; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 17, 67.

The *data* or *datae* is frequently omitted, and *dextra* or *dextrae* is given the same signification. Livy, 29, 24, 3: 'litteras dat ad regem, quibus etiam atque etiam monet eum, ne iura hospitii secum neu cum populo Romano initae societatis neu fas, fidem, dexteras, deos testes atque arbitros conventorum fallat'; Vergil, *Aen.,* 6, 613; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7, 651;

[1] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 5, p. 336, No. 57.
[2] Baehrens, *l. c.,* 4, p. 195.
[3] Baehrens, *l. c.,* 4, p. 239.

Statius, *Theb.* 3, 165; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 11, 545; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 58, 1. Δεξιά is similarly used in Greek. Homer, *Iliad,* 2, 340: ἐν πυρὶ δὴ βουλαί τε γενοίατο μήδεά τ' ἀνδρῶν, | σπονδαί τ' ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιαί, ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν; Lucan, *Phars.* 2, 126; Homer, *Iliad,* 4, 159; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 6, 1, 11; *Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* 3, No. 533, l. 18; *Fayum Towns and Their Papyri* (1900), No. 124, l. 13.

As the right hand was so closely associated with peace, when one party wished to enter into concord and alliance with another, right hands were sometimes sent by envoys as symbolic of this desire. These hands were probably actual representations. Tacitus, *Hist.* 2, 8, 12: 'centurionemque Sisennam, dextras, concordiae insignia, Suriaci exercitus nomine ad praetorianos ferentem, variis artibus adgressus est, donec Sisenna clam relicta insula trepidus et vim metuens aufugeret'; Xenophon, *Anab.* 2, 4, 1: ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα, αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας; Cornelius Nepos, 14 (*Datames*), 10, 1 & 2; Plutarch, *Antonius* 932 E.

When dying, Darius ordered his right hand to be carried to Alexander. Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 5, 13, 30: 'Dextram deinde protendit, eamque Alexandro, fidei regiae pignus, ferri iubens, apprehensa Polystrati manu animam efflavit.'

So also the same act served as a sign of hospitality. Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 54, 1: 'Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus dextras, hospitii insigne.'

Finally, then, the right hand in itself is a symbol and a pledge of good faith. Cicero, *Phil.* 11, 2, 5: 'dexterae, quae fidei testes esse solebant, sunt perfidia et scelere violatae'; Euripides, *Medea,* 20; Μήδεια δ' ἡ δύστηνος ἠτιμασμένη | βοᾷ μὲν ὅρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιᾶς | πίστιν μεγίστην; Vergil, *Aen.* 4, 597; Livy, 1, 21, 4; 28, 35, 1; Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 4, 14, 25; 6, 10, 14; Seneca, *Medea,* 248; Valerius

Flaccus, *Arg.* 5, 494; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 11, 252; Pliny, *Pan.* 66, 24; Aristotle, *Rhet.*, A, 14, 5.

Thus in making a promise the right hand was given as a pledge of its fulfilment. Cicero, *Phil.* 10, 4, 9: 'quae quidem nunc M. Bruti imperio, auctoritate, copiis non instructa solum, sed etiam ornata tendit dexteram Italiae suumque ei praesidium pollicetur'; Livy, 1, 7, 11: 'dextra Hercules data accipere se omen impleturumque fata ara condita ac dicata ait'; Plutarch, *Pelopidas,* 292 C: *τοῦ δὲ Πελοπίδου τὴν δόξαν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὔνομα δεδοικὼς ἀπήντησεν ὡς κρείσσονι καὶ δεξιωσάμενος καὶ δεηθεὶς ὡμολόγησε τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῖς τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῖς διαφυλάξειν*; Livy, 1, 58, 7; 30, 12, 18; 40, 46, 40; Sophocles, *Philoct.* 1398; Euripides, *Helen,* 838.

This was part of the symbolism by which an oath was regularly accompanied. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 71, 20: 'iuravere amici dextram morientis contingentes, spiritum ante quam ultionem amissuros'; Demosthenes, *Κατὰ Μειδίου,* 553, 12 (Reiske): *τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν αὖ . . . εἰσελθὼν οἴκαδε ὡς ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐφεξῆς οὑτωσὶ καθιζόμενος, τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλὼν, παρόντων πολλῶν . . . ὤμνυε μὲν . . .*; Tacitus, *Ann.* 11, 9, 11.

So also the right hand was sometimes sworn by, *per dextram.* Vergil, *Aen.* 7, 234: 'fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem, | sive fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis.'

It is called upon as a witness. Vergil, *Aen.* 9, 287: 'hanc . . . linquo (nox et tua testis | dextera) quod nequeam lacrimas perferre parentis.'

As one of the ceremonies which took place during the celebration of a marriage, the right hand of the bridegroom was joined with that of the bride.[1] Claudian, *Epith. Laurentii* (71), 64: 'Surge age iam iuvenis: dextram complectere sponsae'; Euripides, *Iph. in Aulis,* 831: *ΚΛ. μεῖνον· τί φεύγεις; δεξιάν τ' ἐμῇ χερὶ | σύναψον, ἀρχὴν μακαρίων νυμφευ-*

[1] Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer,* 1, p. 50.

μάτων. AX. *τί φής; ἐγώ σοι δεξιάν*; Vergil, *Aen.* 4, 104; Claudian, 31, 128; 40, 53; *Epithalamium Laurentii Aliaque,* 66;[1] Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 8, 4, 25 and 26.

THE RIGHT HAND IN THE EXPRESSION OF EMOTION

In the expression of varying emotions the right hand played an important part. The right hand was grasped or kissed as a mark of reverence: Lucan, *Phars.* 2, 113: 'Spes una salutis | oscula pollutae fixisse trementia dextrae'; cf. Florus, *Epitoma,* 2, 9, 16. Xenophon, *Cyrop,* 3, 2, 14: *ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ταῦτα πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες, πολλὰ δὲ δεξιωσάμενοι ᾤχοντο οἴκαδε*; Vergil, *Aen.* 7, 266; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 18, 183; Suetonius, *Nero,* 13, 8; Claudian, 15, 231; 20, 66; 24, 6; 26, 619; *Anthol. Lat.* 206, l. 88; Euripides, *Iph. in Aulis,* 866; Parthey, *l. c.* 1, l. 77.

Clasping the right hand was a sign of deep affection: Vergil, *Aen.* 8, 558: 'tum pater Evandrus dextram complexus euntis | haeret'; Xenophon, *Hist. Graec.* 5, 1, 3: *ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν, ἐπ' οἴκου ὁρμώμενος, οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιώσατο*; Vergil, *Aen.* 9, 250; Seneca, *Phoen.* 450; Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 71, 1;[2] Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 5, 3, 20; 5, 7; 7, 5, 53; Sophocles, *Trach.* 1181;[3] Euripides, *Heraclidae,* 307; *Iph. in Aulis* 339; 471; Aristophanes, *Clouds,* 81.[4]

Grasping a right hand indicated joy: Xenophon, *Hist. Graec.* 7, 2, 9: *ἔωθα δὴ θεάσασθαι παρῆν ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας πιεῖν τε φερούσας . . .* ; Plutarch, *Agesilaus,* 612 C.

[1] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 3, p. 299, No. 42.
[2] Here the idea of reverence also is probably involved.
[3] Cf. *Iliad,* 6, 233.
[4] Cf. Note of Blaydes.

According to Plutarch (*de Profect. in Virt.* 85 C), a messenger indicated the fact that he was bringing joyful news by stretching out his right hand: *Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν γάρ ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄγγελον ἰδὼν περιχαρῆ προσθέοντα, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνοντα . . .*

One gave the right hand to express gratitude; one clasped the right hand of one's benefactor: Livy, 28, 9, 6: 'non salutabant modo universi circumfusi sed contingere pro se quisque victrices dextras consulum cupientes, alii gratulabantur, alii gratias agebant, quod eorum opera incolumis res publica esset'; Plutarch, *Alexander,* 690 A (ch. 43): *ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποδώσει σοι τὴν χάριν· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ τῆς εἰς μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐπιεικείας, ᾧ ταύτην δίδωμι τὴν δεξιὰν διὰ σου*; Livy, 26, 50, 9; Ovid, *Met.* 8, 421; Sophocles, *Oed. at Colonus,* 1130; Plutarch, *de Adul. et Am.* 63 E.

Grief might be expressed by striking the breast or the forehead with the right hand, or even by simply stretching it out. Seneca, *Troades,* 106: 'iam nuda vocant pectora dextras'; Apuleius, *Met.* 1, 7, 31-32: 'iam adlubentia proclivis est sermonis et ioci et scitum et cavillum, iam dicacitas ⟨in⟩ timida cum ille imo de pectore cruciabilem suspiritum ducens dextra saeviente frontem replaudens: "me miserum," infit'; Vergil, *Aen.* 10, 821; 'at vero ut voltum vidit morientis et ora | . . . ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit'; Plutarch, *Eumenes* 587 D: *πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Κρατέρου τελευτὴν καὶ προσελάσας, ὡς εἶδεν ἐμπνέοντα καὶ συνιέντα, καταβὰς ἀπεδάκρυσε καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησε τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ᾤκτίσατο τῆς τύχης*; Seneca, *Troad.* 117; Martial, 2, 11, 5; Apuleius, *Met.* 1, 7, 31-32.

Similar is the expression of anger. Apuleius, *Met.* 6, 9, 396: 'quam ubi primum inductam oblatamque sibi conspexit Venus, latissimum cachinnum extollit et qualem solent furenter irati, caputque quatiens et ascalpens aurem dexteram . . .'

So too, to show anger towards the gods, right hands were

raised to the sky. Lucan, *Phars,* 8, 148: 'sic litore toto | plangitur, infestae tenduntur in aethera dextrae.'

Right hands were clasped at parting. Hence, the relatives and friends of a dying man grasped his right hand when bidding him the last farewell: Livy, 26, 14, 4: 'inde misso convivio dextris inter se datis ultimoque complexu conlacrimantes suum patriaeque casum alii, ut eodem rogo cremarentur, manserunt, alii domos digressi sunt'; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 8, 7, 26: *εἴ τις οὖν ὑμῶν ἢ δεξιᾶς βούλεται τῆς ἐμῆς ἅψασθαι, ἢ ὅμμα τοὐμὸν ζῶντος ἔτι προσιδεῖν ἐθέλει, προσίτω· . . . ταῦτ εἰπὼν καὶ πάντας δεξιωσάμενος ἐνεκαλύψατο, καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν*; Ovid, *Met.* 6, 494; Euripides, *Alcestis,* 193; *Iph. in Aulis,* 679; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 7, 3, 8.

An old and well-established custom was that of giving the right hand in greeting. Ovid, *Met.* 7, 494: 'Aeacidae longo iuvenes post tempore visum | Agnovere tamen Cephalum, dextrasque dedere, | Inque patris duxere domum'; Demosthenes, *De Corona,* 332, 8 (Reiske): *οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις, οὓς ἄν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγελεῖν οἴωμαι*; Plautus, *Men.* 138; *Aul.* 116; Lucretius, 1, 316; Vergil, *Aen.* 3, 610; 8, 124; Horace, *Ep.* 1, 6, 51; Livy, 45, 12, l. 7 and l. 17; Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 6, 5, 2; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 297; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 2, 638; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6, 397; Martial, 2, 21, 1; Homer, *Iliad,* 10, 542; Xenophon, *Anab.* 7, 4, 19; *Cyrop.* 6, 3, 36; *Hist. Graec.* 4, 1, 15; Plutarch, *Pompey,* 658 C; *Cato Minor,* 765 C; *Comp. Lys. cum Sulla,* 478 A; *Crassus,* 550 E; *de Gen. Socr.* 597 F.

In making supplications or prayers the right hand played a conspicuous part. Statius, *Silvae,* 1, 2, 67: 'at tandem lacrimis, et supplice dextra | et votis precibusque viri concede moveri'; Ovid, *Met.* 3, 721; Petronius, 121, 100; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 4, 11; Statius, *Silv.* 5, 1, 258; *Achil.* 1, 365; *Theb.* 11, 688; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12, 19, 1.

According to circumstances the suppliant merely stretched

out his right hand in entreaty: Vergil, *Aen.* 11, 414; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2, 413; Diphilus, Σωγραφος, 2, 1, 23.[1] Or the person supplicated was held fast by the suppliant: Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7, 475: 'tum vero extremo percussa dolore | Arripit Aesoniden dextra, ac summissa profatur.' Or the feet of the supplicated were clasped by the suppliant: Seneca, *Troad.* 691: 'Ad genua accido | supplex, Ulixe, quamque nullius pedes | novere dextram pedibus admoveo tuis'; Seneca, *Troad.* 708. Or the suppliant grasped the right hand of the person to whom the supplication was addressed. This right hand was either clasped or kissed. Livy, 30, 12, 17: 'itaque cum modo genua modo dextram amplectens in id, ne cui Romano traderetur, fidem exposceret'; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 12, 591: 'ostentant parvos vagituque incita pulsant | corda virum armatis infigunt oscula dextris'; Euripides, *Medea,* 496: φεῦ δεξιὰ χεὶρ ἧς σὺ πόλλ' ἐλαμβάνου, | καὶ τῶνδε γονάτων; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 754: ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἄπολλον, ἔμβαλέ μοι τὴν δεξιάν, | καὶ δὸς κύσαι καὐτὸς κύσον, καὶ μοι φράσον, | πρὸς Διός, ὃς . . . ; Plautus, *Curc.* 339; Livy, 1, 41, 2; 30, 12, 12; Ovid, *Met.* 7, 89; Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 6, 7, 8; [Seneca], *Oct.* 627; Petronius, 121, 100; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11, 250 (103); Statius, *Achil.* 1, 48; *Theb.* 9, 418; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 6, 461; *Il. Lat.* 688;[2] Euripides, *Hippolytus,* 333; *Hecuba,* 342; *Heracleidae,* 844.

As in the taking of oaths, *per dextram* and πρὸς δεξιᾶς are also used in supplication. This latter use is much the more common. Plautus, *Amph.* 923: 'per dexteram tuam te, Alcumena, oro obsecro, | da mihi hanc veniam, ignosce, irata ne sies'; Euripides, *Iph. in Tauris,* 1068: ἀλλὰ πρὸς σε δεξιᾶς | σὲ καὶ σ' ἱκνοῦμαι; Plautus, *Capt.* 442; Terence, *And.* 289; Sallust, *Jug.* 10, 3; Vergil, *Aen.* 4, 314; Horace, *Epist.* 1, 7, 94; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 12, 577; Apuleius, *Met.* 4, 11, 261; 6, 2, 385; Euripides, *Hippolytus,* 605; *Hecuba,* 753; *Iph. in Aulis,* 709; Aristophanes, *Thesmoph.* 936.

[1] Meineke,, *l. c.*, 4, p. 395.
[2] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 3, p. 41.

THE LEFT HAND AS THE DISHONORABLE MEMBER

In a manner parallel to that followed by the right hand, but developing, of course, in exactly the opposite direction, the left hand came to be associated with the unnatural, hence the dishonorable, and ultimately the unlucky or unfavorable. As proof of the character of dishonor which is attached to it, the explanation given by Pliny for the origin of the custom of wearing the ring on the left hand is important. That this was the practice in antiquity as well as in modern times is well attested. Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 32, 3: 'habebat etiam in minimo digito sinistrae manus anulum grandem subauratum extremo vero articulo digiti sequentis minorem, ut mihi videbatur totum aureum, sed plane ferreis veluti stellis ferruminatum'; also Horace, *Sat.* 2, 7, 9; Livy, 1, 11, 8-9; Ovid. *Am.* 3, 8, 15; Suetonius, *Caes.* 33, 6; *Nero,* 20, 23.

Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 33, 1, 12) says: 'fabricae etiam deum fibulas et alia muliebris cultus sicut inauris in primordio factitasse, sine mentione anulorum. Et quisquis primus instituit cunctanter id fecit, laevis manibus latentibusque induit, cum, si honos securus fuisset, dextra fuerit ostentandus. Quodsi impedimentum potuit in eo aliquod intelligi, etiam serioris usus argumentum est, et maius in laeva fuisset qua scutum capitur.' According to this passage, the first person to introduce the custom of wearing rings was ashamed of it; and for that reason placed the ring on the left hand, as there it was not so prominent. It is further stated that had it been certain that the innovation was entirely honorable, the right hand would have been the one to receive the ring. The inference is evident that Pliny considered the left hand to be by nature suited for anything to which clung the slightest taint of dishonor. He adds that the custom may be attributed to the impediment to freedom of action caused by the presence of a ring, which is, of course, the true explanation. This, however, is aside from the question, and does not detract from the

main idea of the association between the left and the dishonorable.

Aulus Gellius (10, 10, 1) gives another explanation, which seems to be exactly opposite to that given by Pliny: 'Veteres Graecos anulum habuisse in digito accepimus sinistrae manus, qui minimo est proximus. Romanos quoque homines aiunt sic plerumque anulis usitatos. Causum huius rei Apion in libris Aegyptiacis hanc dicit, quod insectis apertisque humanis corporibus, ut mos in Aegypto fuit, quas Graeci ἀνατομὰς appellant, repertum est, nervum quendam tenuissimum ab eo uno digito de quo diximus, ad cor hominis pergere ac pervenire; propterea non inscitum visum esse, eum potissimum digitum tali honore decorandum qui continens et quasi conexus esse cum principatu cordis videretur.'

The contradiction is, however, easily removed when we consider that Gellius approached the problem from an aspect entirely different from that of Pliny. He starts with the supposition that by placing a ring upon the left hand an especial honor was conferred upon it. Pliny's hypothesis, on the other hand, is exactly opposite. Gellius was, therefore, trying to find an explanation for the left hand, which he knew to be essentially dishonorable, being honored in this manner. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 33, 1, 9) supports Gellius in this view: 'Manus et prorsus sinistrae maximam auctoritatem conciliavere auro, non quidem Romanae, quarum in more ferrei erant et virtutis bellicae insigne.'

The association between the left hand and stealing, Plautus calls it 'furtifica laeva,' serves still further to show its general ill-repute and connection with dishonorable actions. Plautus, *Pers.* 225:

'Pae. Ecquid habes?
So. Ecquid tu?
Pae. Nil equidem.
So. Cedo manum ergo.
Pae. Estne haec manus?
So. Ubi illa altrast furtifica laeva?'

Ovid, *Met.* 13, 110: 'Nec clipeus vasti caelatus imagine mundi | conveniet timidae nataeque ad furta sinistrae"; Martial, 12, 29, 3; Prudentius, *Psych.* 458.

The explanation has been offered that the movements of the left hand would be more easily concealed at meals than those of the right, as the Romans usually reclined on the left side.[1] This fact may have been of some influence; but the origin of the association seems to be due in large measure to the general characteristics attributed to the left hand in popular belief.

A direct development from the preceding is the use of 'sinistrae' in the sense of accomplices in thieving. Catullus 47, 1: 'Porci et Socration, duae sinistrae | Pisonis, scabies famesque mundi.'

The same explanation may possibly be applied to Martial, 11, 73, 1 ff.: 'Venturum iuras semper mihi Lygde, roganti | Constituisque horam constituisque locum. | Cum frustra iacui longa prurigine tentus | Succurrit pro te saepe sinistra mihi'; cf. also Martial, 9, 41, 1, and 11, 58, 11.

In Vergil (*Aen.* 6, 570), Tisiphone brandishes her snakes with her left hand: 'continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello | Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra | intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum.' So, too, the Furies are said to carry their torches in their left hands: Seneca, *Agam.* 759: 'Instant sorores squalidae | sanguinea iactant verbera | fert laeva semustas faces.' Both of these passages show clearly the general view with regard to the left hand.

It is but natural, in view of its especial characteristics, that the left hand should be the one connected with charms or with whatever might be associated with magic or sorcery of any kind. Thus Medea, when preparing the magic potion in which to dip the robe which she sends to Creusa, collects the ingredients with her left hand. Seneca, *Medea,* 680: 'et triste laeva

[1] Cf. Ellis, Note on Catullus 12, 1: 'Marrucine Asini, manu sinistra | non belle uteris in ioco atque vino: | tollis lintea neglegentiorum.'

congregans sacrum manu | pestes vocat . . .' Similarly the priest when preparing the charm which shall cause the earth to open and reveal the lower world, pours a libation with his left hand. Seneca, *Oed.* 565: 'libat et niveum insuper | lactis liquorem, fundit et Bacchum manu | laeva canitque rursus ac terram intuens | graviore manes voce et attonita citat.'

In the Greek Magic Papyri, contrary to what might be expected, the use of the left hand is not prescribed as essential in the performance of the charm described. In several instances, however, the application of a magical compound to the left hand or the left side of the body is required. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* 1, No. 121, p. 105, l. 665 ff.; No. 122, p. 118, l. 65 ff.; No. 125, p. 124, l. 1 ff.; Wessely, *l. c.*, p. 138, p. 468 ff.; Cf. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum,* 1, No. 121, p. 95, l. 339 ff. On the other hand, the use of the right hand is specifically mentioned: *Greek Papyri in the British Museum,* 1, No. 121, p. 90, l. 186 ff.; p. 101, l. 522 ff.; Wessely, *l. c.*, p. 45, l. 41; p. 62, l. 698.

The right side of the body: *Greek Papyri in the British Museum,* 1, No. 121, p. 105, l. 652 ff.; Parthey, *l. c.*, 2, l. 23; l. 39.

In direct accordance with such practices is the important rôle given to the left hand and to the left in general by certain writers who deal with medicine and medical matters, chiefly Pliny, Pseudo-Pliny, Marcellus, and Pelagonius. For example, to render certain plants efficacious, one must pluck them with the left hand: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 27, 36: 'Aster ab aliquis bubonion appellatur, quoniam inguinum praesentaneum remedium est, cauliculus foliis oblongis duobus aut tribus, in cacumine capitula stellae modo radiata bibitur et adversus serpentis. Sed ad inguinum medicinam sinistra manu decerpi iubent et iuxta cinctus adligari prodest et coxendicis dolori adalligata'; Marcellus, *Med.* 26, 41: 'Artemisia herba est, quam Gallice bricumum appellant; hanc ubi nascatur require et inventam mane ante solis ortum sinistra manu extrahes et ex ea nudos renes praecinges; quo facto singulari

et praesentaneo remedio uteris' ; Vegetius, 4, 3, 12; Columella, 6, 5, 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 27, 117; Pseudo-Pliny, *Med.* 3, 23 (20, 126); Marcellus, *Med.*, 32, 5; Pelagonius, *Art. Vet.* 22.

In the same manner some animals, if caught with the left hand, are beneficial: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 30, 26: 'sunt qui et araneum animal ipsum sinistra manu captum tritumque in rosaceo et in aurem infusum cuius a parte doleat prodesse arbitrentur' ; Marcellus, *Med.* 2, 4: 'Emicranium statim curant vermes terreni pari numero sinistra manu lecti et in limine cum terra de limine eadem manu triti et cum aceto optimo eadem manu fronti vel temporibus inliti cum dolor urgebit' ; Marcellus, *Med.* 8, 51-52.

Differing but slightly is Marcellus, *Med.* 33, 64: 'Mulierem, quam tu habueris, ut numquam alius inire possit, facies hoc: Lacertae viridis vivae sinistra manu caudam curtabis eamque vivam dimittes; caudem, donec inmoriatur, eadem palma clausam tenebis et mulierem verendaque eius dum cum ea cois tange.' Cf. *ib.* 33, 6.

In the application of remedies the left hand is sometimes used to render them more effective: Marcellus, *Med.* 8, 190: 'Varulis, id est hordiolis oculorum, remedium tale facies: Anulos digitis eximes et sinistrae manus digitis tribus oculum circum tenebis et ter despues terque dices: rica, rica, soro. Si in dextro oculo varulus erit natus, manu sinistra digitis tribus sub divo orientem spectans varulum tenebis et dices'; Marcellus, *Med.* 28, 74: 'Item ad rosus tam hominum quam iumentorum praecantio sic. Pollice sinistro et duobus minimis digitis ventrem confricans dices.'

Sometimes, in fact, the left hand itself effects the cure: Marcellus, *Med.* 14, 52: 'Uvam toto anno non dolebit, qui cum primum uvam viderit procedentem, sinistra manu digito medicinali et pollice granum vulsum sic transgluttierit ut dentibus non contingat.'

The same point of view is responsible for the application of a remedy to the left side of the body: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 20, 8, 77: '(Seris) cum polenta silvestrium radices stomachi

causa sorbentur, et cardiacis inlinuntur super sinistram mammam et ex aceto, omnes hae et podagricis utiles et sanguinem reicientibus, item quibus genitura fluat, alterno dierum potu'; Marcellus, *Med.* 17, 42: 'Ad singultus inhibendos festucam, quam bibens in calice acceperis, protinus supercilio sinistro imponito; continuo remedium experieris'; Marcellus, *Med.* 17, 42; 44; 29, 26; Pelagonius, *Art. Vet.* 103; 104; 186; 214.

So also a similar explanation is applicable to the statement made by Aulus Gellius, quoting from Pliny, that the left foot of a chameleon, when treated in the proper fashion, will produce invisibility: Aulus Gellius, 10, 12, 5: 'Sed redeo ad Plinium. Sinistrum pedem ait chamaeleontis ferro ex igni calefacto torreri cum herba quae appellatur eodem nomine chamaeleontis et utrumque macerari unguento conligique in modum pastilli atque in vas mitti ligneum et eum, qui vas ferat, etiamsi is in medio palam versetur, a nullo videri posse.'

As an exact opposite to all these usages is the requirement made by Pliny, when speaking of the power to effect certain cures resting in the hand of a dead person, that the left hand must be turned away: *Nat. Hist.,* 28, 45: 'Immatura morte raptorum manu strumas, parotidas, guttura tactu sanari adfirmant, quidam vero cuiuscumque defuncti, dumtaxat sui sexus, laeva manu aversa.' The reason for this requirement may rest in the fact that the left hand is ill-omened, and in the desire to remove anything which may be unfavorable to the success of the cure.

However, it is not the left alone that we find used in connection with remedies such as the foregoing; but also the right hand and the right in general are quite as frequent. Their choice is due obviously to the general characteristic of good luck attached to the right.

Simples must be gathered with the right hand: Marcellus, *Med.* 29, 43: 'Herbam nepetam dextra manu colliges, in quantum sufficere posse credideris eamque ad levitatem con-

teres et cum vino dulci ac vetere vel Libycensi colico ieiuno per triduum dabis.'

The two middle fingers of the right hand when bound together keep off catarrh or inflammation of the eyes. Here the tying of the fingers typifies the binding of the disease. There is also a probable connection between the middle finger and the nose: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 28, 42: 'Pollex in pede praeligatus proximo digito tumores inguinum sedat, in manu dextra duo medii lino leviter conligati distillationes atque lippitudines arcent'; Marcellus, *Med.* 10, 71; Pseudo-Pliny, *Med.* 1, 11 (28, 42).

As a cure for sneezing or hiccuping, among other things, Pliny prescribes the transfer of the ring from the left hand to the middle finger of the right: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 28, 57: 'Sternumenta pinna gravedinem emendant et si quis mulae nares, ut tradunt, osculo attingat, sternutamenta et singultum. ad hoc Varro suadet palmam alterna manu scalpere, plerique anulum e sinistra in longissimum dextrae digitum transferre, in aquam ferventem manus mergere'; Marcellus, *Med.* 18, 44.

Trimalchio performs the same act as a charm to avert the evil omen of the crowing of a cock: Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 74, 1: 'Haec dicente eo gallus gallinaceus cantavit. qua voce confusus Trimalchio vinum sub mensa iussit effundi lucernamque etiam mero spargi, immo anulum traiecit in dexteram manum, et "non sine causa," inquit "hic bucinus signum dedit; nam aut incendium oportet fiat, aut aliquis in vicinia animam abiciet."'

Blows from the right hand of the Luperci were supposed to produce fruitfulness in women: Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 425: 'Nupta, quid expectas? non tu pollentibus herbis, | Nec prece, nec magico carmine mater eris, | Excipe fecundae patienter verbera dextrae | Iam socer optatum nomen habebit avi.'

The healing power supposed to rest in the right hand is shown clearly in a dream described by Artemidorus (*Oneirocritica* 5, 89): *ἔδοξέ τις νοσῶν τὸν στόμαχον καὶ συνταγῆς*

δεόμενος παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιέναι, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐκτείναντα τῆς δεξιᾶς ἑαυτοῦ χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους παρέχειν αὐτῷ ἐσθίειν. φοίνικας πέντε ἐσθίων ἐθεραπεύθη· καὶ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ φοίνικος βάλανοι αἱ σπουδαῖαι δάκτυλοι καλοῦνται.

It is often necessary to apply the remedy to the right half of the body of the patient: Marcellus, *Med.* 22, 41: 'Lacertam viridem prende et de acuta parte cannae iecur ei tolle et in phoenicio vel panno naturaliter nigro alliga atque ad dextram partem lateris aut brachii laboranti epatico suspende, sed vivam lacertam dimitte et dicito ei'; Pelagonius, *Art. Vet.* 154: 'Item ad eos qui tardius meiant. porros decoques et sucum eorum exprimis ad sextarium et commisces vini veteris et olei acetabulum et dabis per narem dextram et deambulet'; Marcellus, *Med.* 10, 81; 22, 24; 26; 34; Pelagonius, *Art Vet.* 142; 278; 458; Pseudo-Pliny, *Med.* 3, 15.

Marcellus (*Med.* 33, 8) gives the composition of a plaster which the user is to apply to the great toe of the right foot as an aphrodisiac. When he desires to cease, it must be transferred to the same position on the left foot: 'Ut in venerem, cum volueris, sis paratus, remedium tale facies . . . Haec omnia separatim trita simul miscebis et iterum simul teres; inde emplastrum facies vel pittacium et pones in dextri pedis pollice, cum uti volueris venere, et cum cessare volueris, ad sinistri pedis pollicem transferes'; cf. Parthey, *l. c.* 1, 1, 334 ff.

An instance of the use of a part of an animal taken from its right side is Marcellus, *Med.* 33, 6: 'Venerem concitant passeres in cibo sumpti vel ova eorum, item gallinaceus testis dexter in arietina pelle collo subligatus mire prodest.'

In Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 24, 19, 172) the patient to whom a certain ointment is applied is required to spit to his right three times. Pliny adds that the remedy is said to be more efficacious if three men of three nationalities anoint themselves towards the right ('dextrorsus'): 'iuxta hanc viduam vite nascitur herba quam Galli rodarum vocant . . . qui perunctus est despuit ad suam dextram terna. efficacius remedium esse

aiunt, si tres quoque trium nationum homines perunguant dextrorsus.'

Still another requirement made by Marcellus is that the patient shall receive the medicine from his right and hand back the cup to his left. In this manner the medicine comes from a favorable direction: Marcellus, *Med.* 25, 11: 'Sed qui accipiet stans accipiat et contra orientem bibat et cum a dextra parte potionem acceperit, ad sinistram retro ut non respiciat reddat calicem ei, qui dederit potionem; hoc per triduum faciet.'

Sometimes the remedy must be applied to the same side of the body as that which is diseased; sometimes to the opposite side: Marcellus, *Med.* 24, 23: 'Observandum autem erit, ut si in latere sinistro dolor fuerit, in manu sinistra habeatur anulus, aut in dextra, si dextrum latus dolebit'; Marcellus, *Med.* 8, 142; 29, 26; Marcellus, *Med.* 12, 48: 'Si tibi partis sinistrae dens dolebit, cubito dextro calidam fabam coctam tritam impone et diligenter liga. Si vero partis dexterae sive superior sive inferior dens dolebit, cubito sinistro ligato similiter fabam et hoc per triduum facito'; Marcellus, *Med.* 9, 111; Pseudo-Pliny, *Med.* 1, 6 (28, 60).

Finally both hands are applied to both sides of the body: Marcellus, *Med.* 18, 4: 'Ad cervicum dolores remedium physicum sic: Ieiunus dextram manum saliva tange et dextrum poplitem perfrica, deinde sinistra manu sinistrum et hoc ter per singulos poplites facito; statim remediabis'; Marcellus, *Med.* 12, 46.

Returning to the association between the left and charms of any kind, there are several statements in the *Geoponica* of Cassianus Bassus which show its full development. Thus the left hoof of a black ass is a charm to ward off enchantments: *Geoponica,* 15, 8, 1.

Similarly the left horn of a bull when burnt drives off mildew from the fields: *Geoponica,* 5, 33, 1.

When attacked by a hyena it is necessary to advance on his left side, as otherwise it will be impossible to kill him: *Geoponica,* 15, 1, 12.

Due probably to the same general idea is the statement that a snake can be pulled out of a hole only with the left hand: *Geoponica,* 13, 8, 6; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 28, 3, 33: 'Minus miretur hoc qui sciat vestem a tineis non attingi quae fuerit in funere, serpentis aegre praeterquam laeva manu extrahi.'

Suetonius states that Nero possessed as a charm the skin of a snake, which had been found on his couch, enclosed in a golden bracelet. This he wore on his right arm. The connection with what has been already seen in regard to certain remedies is plain: Suetonius, *Nero,* 6, 23.

ASSOCIATION OF THE RIGHT WITH THE MALE, OF THE LEFT WITH THE FEMALE

In Dreams.

Artemidorus in his *Onirocritica* explains the significance of the appearance of the right and the left in dreams. In general the right is connected with the male, the left with the female. Thus in the case of the right and left hands: *Onirocritica,* 1, 2: . . . *δεξιὰ χεὶρ εἰς πατέρα υἱὸν φίλον ἀδελφόν, ἀριστερὰ χεὶρ εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ μητέρα καὶ φίλην καὶ θυγατέρα καὶ ἀδελφήν.*

Artemidorus himself gives the explanation for this interpretation, which is in direct line with characteristics of the right and left hands already discussed.[1] Ib. 1, 42: *σημαίνειν γὰρ ἔφη τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τὰ ποριζόμενα τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον τὰ πεπορισμένα· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ἕτοιμος, ἡ δὲ ἐπιτήδειος πρὸς τὸ φυλάξαι. ἔστι δὲ παλαιὰ διαίρεσις καὶ ἀληθὴς καὶ ἥδε. σημαίνει ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ χεὶρ υἱὸν πατέρα φίλον καὶ ὃν ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ καταχρώμενοι λέγομεν ὅτι ἡ δεξιὰ χείρ ἐστι τοῦ δεῖνος· ἡ δὲ εὐώνυμος γυναῖκα μητέρα ἀδελφὴν θυγατέρα*

[1] Cf. p. 9 ff.

δούλην. ὁποτέρας οὖν ἄν τις δόξῃ ἀφῃρῆσθαι, στερηθήσεταί τινος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς σημαινομένων.

Interesting as being in exact accord with this explanation is a dream recorded by Artemidorus, in which a sick man beheld Cerberus shaking his right paw at him as a sign that he was ready to receive him into Hades. In this same passage there occurs the use of the right hand as a favorable sign and of the left as the reverse: *Onirocritica,* 5, 92: Νοσῶν τις ηὔξατο τῷ Σαράπιδι, εἰ μέλλει σωθήσεσθαι, τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ χεῖρα ὄναρ ἐπισεῖσαι, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν ἀριστεράν. καὶ δὴ ἔδοξεν εἰσιόντι αὐτῷ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Σαράπιδος τὸν Κέρβερον τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπισείειν αὐτῷ. τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἀπέθανεν εἰκότως· ἀρθείσης γὰρ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἕτοιμος ἦν παραδέξασθαι αὐτὸν ὁ Κέρβερος, ὅσπερ ὄλεθρος εἶναι νενόμισται.

This same significance belongs to other parts of the body also when they occur in dreams, as well as to the hand. Thus the eyes: *Onirocritica,* 1, 26: ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς ὀφθαλμὸς σημαίνει υἱὸν καὶ ἀδελφὸν καὶ πατέρα. ὁ δὲ ἀριστερὸς θυγατέρα καὶ ἀδελφὴν καὶ μητέρα· δύο δὲ υἱῶν ὄντων ἢ θυγατέρων δύο ἢ δύο ἀδελφῶν ὁ μὲν δεξιὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον υἱὸν ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἢ θυγατέρα τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, ὁ δὲ εὐώνυμος θυγατέρα τὴν νεωτέραν καὶ ἀδελφὸν καὶ υἱὸν τοὺς νεωτέρους.

Here also the second contingency emphasizes the superiority of the right over the left as representing those persons by nature stronger or more important: cf. *Onirocritica,* 5, 37; *Onirocritica,* 1, 31 (the teeth); *Onirocritica,* 1, 21 (the head).

With regard to the walls of a house, the right is interpreted as meaning the children and the left as meaning the wife, while the middle one stands for the master of the house: *Onirocritica,* 2, 10: τοίχων δὲ ὁ μὲν τὴν θύραν ἔχων τὸν δεσπότην σημαίνει, ὁ δὲ τὴν θυρίδα τὴν δέσποιναν. ὅπου δὲ μὴ ἔστι θυρίς, ὁ μὲν μέσος τὸν δεσπότην ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς τὰ τέκνα ὁ δὲ εὐώνυμος τὴν γυναῖκα.

Closely related to the foregoing is the method of foretelling future events by means of the involuntary movement of various

parts of the body. A reference to this occurs in Plautus, *Pseudol.* 106: 'Atque id futurum unde unde dicam nescio | nisi quia futurum est: ita supercilium salit'; cf. Theocritus, 3, 37 ff.: ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμός μου ὁ δεξιός· ἆρά γ' ἰδησῶ | αὐτάν.

In the complete elaborations[1] of this system, however, the regular distinctions between the right and the left as lucky and unlucky, or as referring, one to the male, the other to the female, do not seem to hold good. Thus, while the movement of members on the right side of the body generally foretells the occurrence of some favorable event, the same is true also of members on the left side.

Right:

Melampus, *l. c.* (6) 224, 5; (13) 224, 23; (49) 227, 10; (72) 229, 1; Rylands, *l. c.* l. 14; 97, etc.

Left:

Melampus, *l. c.* (14) 224, 25; (16) 225, 1; (75) 229, 6; (88) 230, 6, etc.

So, also, the movement of members both on the left and right sides denotes misfortune:

Left:

Melampus, *l. c.* (7) 224, 7; (11) 224, 19; (44) 227, 2; Rylands, *l. c.* l. 19; 113; etc.

Right:

Melampus, *l. c.* (15) 224, 27; (74) 229, 7; (78) 229, 14; Rylands, *l. c.* l. 135, 168; etc.

The distinction made by Artemidorus between the right as referring to males, the left to females, is rare.

Right:

Rylands, *l. c.* l. 135.

Left:

Rylands, *l. c.* l. 93; 102; 156; 201; 228.

[1] Cf. Melampus, Περὶ Παλμῶν Μαντική, Diels, *l. c.*; 'Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library,' *l. c.*

In the Determination of Sex.

Closely associated with dreams of the nature just discussed, on account of the significance attributed to right and left in both, are the ideas which were held with regard to the determination of the sex of an embryo. Varro gives the following directions for telling the sex of a calf yet unborn from the actions of the bull: *De Re Rustica* 2, 5, 13: 'tum denique tauros in gregem redigo. mas an femina sit concepta, significat descensu taurus, cum init[si], quod, si mas est, in dexteriorem partem abit; si femina in sinisteriorem.' The same statement is repeated by Columella, *De Re Rustica,* 6, 24, 3; and by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 8, 45, 176. Similarly *Geoponica,* 17, 6, where are added directions for producing the sex desired: **Οἱ** *προγινώσκειν θέλοντες, πότερον ἄρρεν ἢ θῆλυ τέξεται ἡ βιβασθεῖσα βοῦς, παρατηρείτωσαν· ἐὰν μὲν εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη ὁ βοῦς κατέλθῃ, ἄρρεν τὸ τεχθησόμενον τεκμαιρέσθω· ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά, θῆλυ. εἰ δὲ καὶ βουληθείης ἄρρεν τεχθῆναι, τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ὀχείας τὸν ἀριστερὸν ὄρχιν ἀπόδησον· εἰ δὲ θῆλυ, τὸν δεξιόν*; cf. ib., 18, 3, 7.

The essential idea in all these, and the one which calls for our attention, is the connection between the right side and the male, the left and the female. We have already seen it occurring in the explanations given by Artemidorus of the meaning of certain dreams. The association in all cases must be attributed to exactly identical causes, going back to the general attributes of the right and the left which we have already considered.

In explanation of Columella, *de Re Rustica,* 6, 24, 3, Schneider[1] writes: 'Orta est opinio ex alia aeque falsa, dextrum testiculum et ovarium feminarum a natura foetibus masculis, sinistra femineis destinata fuisse.' Of the truth of this statement we have numerous proofs.[2] Thus with regard to the

[1] *Scriptores Rei Rusticae,* 2, p. 339.
[2] Ploss, *l. c.,* 1, p. 373.

parts of the uterus of the mother, Galen (*In Epid.* 6, 48 [17, A, 1002 K]) quotes a line from Parmenides:[1] *τὸ μέντοι ἄρρεν ἐν τῶι δεξιῶι μέρει τῆς μήτρας κυίσκεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παλαιοτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἰρήκασιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παρμενιδὴς οὕτως ἔφη· δεξιτεροῖσιν μὲν κούρους, λαιοῖσι δὲ κούρας.* Further Aetius (5, 7, 4 [D 420][2] adds that the semen from the right side of the male enters the right side of the uterus, and that from the left enters the left side. If, however, the semen from the two sides become interchanged in their descent, the resulting offspring will be female: *Ἀναξαγόρας Παρμένιδης τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν* (sc. *σπέρματα*) *καταβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τῆς μήτρας τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν εἰς τὰ ἀριστερά, εἰ δ' ἐναλλαγείη τὰ τῆς καταβολῆς, γίνεσθαι θήλεα.*

This would seem to show that the sex of the child was considered as not dependent solely upon the mother. In fact, Aristotle (*De Animal. Gen.* 4, 1, 763 b) states a theory that it depended also upon the side of the father from which the semen came; that from the right side producing a male, that from the left a female: *πότερον δὲ καὶ πρὶν δήλην τὴν διαφορὰν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν αἴσθησιν ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν θῆλυ το δ' ἄρρεν ἐστίν ἐν τῇ μητρὶ λαβόντα τὴν διαφορὰν ἢ πρότερον, ἀμφισβητεῖται. φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς σπέρμασιν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ἐναντίωσιν εὐθύς οἷον Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν φυσιολόγων· γίνεσθαι τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄρρενος τὸ σπέρμα, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ παρέχειν τὸν τόπον, καὶ εἶναι τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν, καὶ τῆς ὑστέρας τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς εἶναι τὰ δὲ θήλεα ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς*; Censorinus, *De Die Natali,* 6, 6: 'ex dextris partibus profuso semine mares gigni at e laevis feminas Anaxagoras Empedoclesque consentiunt'; Censorinus, l. c., 5, 2; Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal,* 4, 765.

So, too, with respect to which of the parents the child should resemble, the side from which came the semen and the side of the uterus played an important part: Censorinus, *De Die*

[1] Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokr.*, p. 128, fr. 17.
[2] Cf. Diels, *l. c.*, p. 116, § 53.

Natali, 6, 8:[1] 'ceterum Parmenidis sententia est cum dexterae partes semina dederint, tunc filios esse patri consimiles, cum laevae, tunc matri'; Actius, 5, 11, 2 [D 422]: Παρμενίδης ὅταν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τῆς μήτρας ὁ γόνος ἀποκριθῇ, τοῖς πατράσιν, ὅταν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ, ταῖς μητράσιν (sc. ὅμοια τὰ τέκνα γίνεσθαι).

From Lactantius we obtain still another idea, which differs slightly in detail from those already given, but which rests upon the same fundamental principle. In the preceding statements the semen from the right side of the male was considered as entering the right side of the uterus in order to produce a boy and the same with the left for a girl. Lactantius, however, states that if the male semen, that is from the right side, enters the left side of the uterus a male will still result, but he will have certain feminine characteristics. Similarly female semen, that is from the left side, falling on the male side of the uterus, will produce a female, but with masculine characteristics: Lactantius, *De Opificio* 12, 12:[2] 'dispares quoque naturae hoc modo fieri putantur: cum forte in laevam uteri partem masculinae stirpis semen inciderit, marem quidem gigni opinatio est, sed quia sit in femina parte conceptus aliquid in se habere femineum supra quam decus virile patiatur, vel formam insignem vel nimium candorem vel corporis levitatem vel artus delicatos, vel staturam brevem vel vocem gracilem vel animum imbecillum vel ex his plura. item si partem in dexteram semen feminini generis influxerit, feminam quidem procreari, sed quoniam in masculina parte concepta sit, habere in se aliquid virilitatis ultra quam sexus ratio permittat, aut valida membra aut immoderatum longitudinem aut fuscum colorem aut hispidam faciem aut vultum indecorem aut vocem robustam aut animum audacem aut ex his plura.'

Aristotle (*De Animal Gen.* 4, 765) opposes all these views, and declares that they have been proved false by actual obser-

[1] Cf. Diels, *l. c.*, p. 116, § 54.
[2] Diels, *l. c.*, p. 116, § 54.

vation and experiment. He states, however, that a possible cause for a child being a male or female is the difference in the amount of heat and cold involved. This, he adds, might account for the theory of the right and left, as the right side of the body is naturally warmer than the left, and therefore the semen from that side would be warmer and hence more liable to produce a male: (765 b.) *τὸ μὲν οὖν θερμότητα καὶ ψυχρότητα αἰτίαν οἴεσθαι τοῦ ἄρρενος καὶ τοῦ θήλεος καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν γίνεσθαι ἢ τῶν ἀριστερῶν, ἔχει τινὰ λόγον. θερμότερα γὰρ τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἀριστερῶν, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τὸ πεπεμμένον θερμότερον, τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ συνεστός, γονιμώτερον δὲ τὸ συνεστὸς μᾶλλον.*[1]

RIGHT SIDE AS THE POSITION OF HONOR

The right side is the position of honor: Suetonius, *Tiberius,* 6, 20: 'Dehinc pubescens Actiaco triumpho currum Augusti comitatus est, sinisteriore funali equo cum Marcellus Octaviae filius dexteriore veheretur'; Sallust, *Jug.* 11, 3; Suetonius, *Nero,* 13, 12; Euripides, *Orestes,* 474: *ἄγετέ με· πρὸς γὰρ δε δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ θελω | στὰς ἀσπάσασθαι, χρόνιος εἰσιδὼν φίλον.*

From a statement of Xenophon, however, we would have to conclude that among the Persians the usual practice was reversed, and that the left side took precedence over the right: (*Cyrop.* 8, 4, 3) *ὡς δ' ἦλθον οἱ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, οὐχ ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστον ἐκάθιζεν, ἀλλ' ὃν μὲν μάλιστα ἐτίμα, παρὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα, ὡς εὐεπιβουλευτοτέρας ταύτης οὔσης, ἢ τῆς δεξιᾶς, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον πάλιν παρὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν.*

According to Fryklund,[2] "Le côté de la main droite est le côté de la main adroite, forte, véritable, le côté de la main qui promet, etc. et par là le côté d'honneur et de préférence. L'origine est peut-être religieuse cf. Schrader (*Reallexikon der*

[1] Cf. Diels, *l. c.*, p. 175, § 81.
[2] *l. c.*, p. 56.

indogermanischen Altertumskunde), p. 309: 'Für den Süden wie für den Norden Europas wird von den Alten die Sitte bezeugt, sich bei dem Gebet zu den Göttern nach der rechten Seite zu werden. In merkwürdiger übereinstimmung hat sich hieraus bei Indern und Kelten die Gewohnheit entwickelt einer zu ehrenden Persönlichkeit die rechte Seite zuzuwenden.'" The custom, however, which made the right side the position of honor, probably had its origin merely in the general precedence, due to its associations, of the right. Instead of being the cause, it is more likely that the religious practice was a secondary outgrowth of this very usage.

An instance of the practice of turning towards the right when praying to or addressing the gods is found in Plautus, *Curc.* 70: 'si deos salutas, dextrovorsum censeo'; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 28, 25; also Plutarch, *Camillus,* 131 F: *ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καθάπερ ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος ἐπευξαμένοις καὶ προσκυνήσασιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐξελίττειν, ἐσφάλη περιστρεφόμενος*; Plutarch, *Plato,* 203 B.[1]

Here might be mentioned the habit of placing the right hand on the mouth at the completion of a prayer. This must have indicated reverence: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 28, 25: 'In adorando dextram ad osculum referimus totumque corpus circumagimus, quod in laevom fecisse Galliae religiosius credunt.' Quite similar is Apuleius, *Met.* 4, 28, 300: 'multi denique civium et advenae copiosi, quos eximii spectaculi rumor studiosa celebritate congregabat, inaccessae formonsitatis admiratione stupidi et admoventes oribus suis dexteram pri⟨m⟩ore digito in erectum pollicem residente ⟨ea⟩m ut ipsam prorsus deam Venerem religiosis ⟨venerabantur⟩ adorationibus'; cf. Ovid, *Her.* 7, 130.

The right hand was used in offering libations to the gods: Vergil, *Aen.* 8, 273: 'quare agite, o iuvenes, tantarum in munere laudum | cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite

[1] Cf. K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker,* 2, p. 144; Valeton, *De Mod. Auspic. Rom.,* pp. 297 and 314.

dextris, | communemque vocate deum et date vina volentes'; Vergil, *Aen.* 8, 278; Ovid, *Met.* 14, 276.

Significant are the lines from Septimius Serenus 6,[1] where when the offering is made to the gods of the lower world, the left hand is used: 'inferis manu sinistra | immolamus pocula.'

ἐπιδέξια AND *ἐπαρίστερα* AS ORDERS OF PROCEDURE

In Athenaeus we find the expression *ἐπιδέξια πίνειν.* Thus 10, 464:[2] *πρὸς οὓς λεκτέον ὅτι τρόποι εἰσὶ πόσεων κατὰ πόλεις ἴδιοι, ὡς Κριτίας παρίστησιν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτείᾳ διὰ τούτων· ὁ μὲν Χῖος καὶ Θάσιος ἐκ μεγάλων κυλίκων ἐπιδέξια· ὁ δ' Αττικὸς, ἐκ μικρῶν ἐπιδέξια· ὁ δὲ Θετταλικὸς, ἐκπώματα προπίνει ὅτῳ ἂν βούλωνται μεγάλα Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ἕκαστος πίνει, ὁ δὲ παῖς ὁ οἰνοχόος, ὅσον ἂν ἀποπίῃ. τοῦ δ' ἐπιδέξια πίνειν μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ἀγροίκοις, οὕτως* A. *τίνα δὴ παρεσκευασμένοι πίνειν τρόπον | ἐστὲ νυνί; λέγετε.* B. *τίνα τρόπον πίνειν | ἡμεῖς; τοιοῦτον οἷον ἂν καὶ σοὶ δοκῇ.* | A. *βούλεσθε δήπου τὸν ἐπιδέξια πάτερ, | λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ πίνοντι;* B. *τὸν ἐπιδέξια λέγειν; Ἄπολλον, ὡσπερεὶ τεθνηκότι*; cf. Athenaeus, 13, 600 e.

For an explanation of the nature of this manner of drinking, it would be well to compare two other passages: Homer, *Odyss.* 21, 141: *ὄρνυσθ' ἑξείης ἐπιδέξια πάντες ἑταῖροι, | ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χώρου ὅθεν τέ περ οἰνοχοεύει*: Plato, *Symposium*, 223: *ἐξεγρόμενος δὲ ἰδεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους καθεύδοντας καὶ οἰχομένους, Ἀγάθωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνη καὶ Σωκράτη ἔτι μόνους ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ πίνειν ἐκ φιάλης μεγάλης ἐπὶ δεξιά.*

By comparing these two passages with those from Athenaeus just quoted, we see that the method represented by *ἐπιδέξια πίνειν* was probably one in which the banqueters drank in turn, starting from the man occupying the chief position at the table, then passing to the person on his right, then to the

[1] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 6, p. 385.
[2] Ed. Schweighäuser, 4, p. 200.

one on the right of the latter, and so on.[1] In the Symposium (*l. c.*) there was but one vessel, which was evidently passed between the three men. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that this was always the case, although the custom might well have originated in some such practice of passing a single drinking cup around the whole company. The reason for its being passed from left to right is evidently because thus the guests would drink in the order of precedence, as we have already seen that the right hand side was the most honored. Thus drinking *ἐπιδέξια* may have been especially suited to solemn occasions and have been used chiefly when it was desired to impart a spirit of solemnity. Plato in the *Symposium* (*l. c.*) would then have intended to impart a ludicrous effect.[2]

Homer (*Iliad,* 1, 597) proves that this same order was followed in filling the cups: *αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοισι θεοῖς ἐνδέξια πᾶσιν | οἰνοχόει, γλυκὺ νέκταρ ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων.*

With such an origin the *ἐπιδέξια* became a regular order of procedure in other matters besides drinking: Homer, *Iliad,* 7, 183: *κῆρυξ δὲ φέρων (κλῆρον) ἀν' ὅμιλον ἁπάντῃ | δεῖξ' ἐνδέξια πᾶσιν ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν*; Plato, *Symposium,* 177 D: *δοκεῖ γὰρ μοι χρῆναι ἕκαστον ἡμῶν λόγον εἰπεῖν ἔπαινον Ἔρωτος ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ὡς ἂν δύνηται κάλλιστον . . .* ; ib. 214 B and C; 222 E.

As *ἐπιδέξια* stood for the correct way of doing anything, so *ἐπαρίστερα* came to have the opposite meaning of doing a thing in the wrong way: Aristophanes, *Birds,* 1567: *οὗτος, τί δρᾷς; ἐπ' ἀριστερ' οὕτως ἀμπέχει; | οὐ μεταβαλεῖς θοἰμάτιον ὧδ' ἐπὶ δεξιά;*[3] Cf. Herodotus, 2, 36.

Interesting in this connection, as showing the general idea of ill-omen attached to anything which departed from the regular and usual, is the practice which was frequently fol-

[1] Cf. Schweighäuser, *Athenaeus,* Vol. 11, p. 29; note on 10, 464.

[2] Jevons, 'Indo-European Modes of Orientation,' *Classical Review,* 10 (1896), p. 23 holds a different view.

[3] Cf. Blaydes, note on this passage.

lowed of writing the tablets used in the execution of *defixiones* ἐπαρίστερα:[1] Wuensch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae,* Nos. 10b; 20-22; 24-32; 35-37; 40-44; 46; 57; 58; 66-68; 84; 96; 97; 109; 138; 139; 160; 169; 174; 175; 178; 179; 181; cf. Parthey, *l. c.,* 1, l. 248 ff.

In the celebration of the marriage rites fire and water were carried around 'dextrum in orbem': Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 8, 245: 'ignem Pollux undamque iugalem | praetulit, et dextrum paterae verguntur in orbem.'

In marching around a tomb, however, exactly the opposite course was followed. This was due to the association of the tomb with the *Di Inferi:* Statius, *Theb.* 6, 200: 'lustrantque ex more, sinistro | Urbe rogum.' In order to remove the feeling of ill-omen naturally arising from this act, the procession was made to return *dextri gyro:* Statius, *Theb.* 6, 221. 'hic luctus abolere, novique | Funeris auspicium, vates (quamquam omnia sentit | Vera) iubet; dextri gyro et vibran-- tibus hastis | Hac redeunt.' The connection between these acts and the practices which have been just discussed is plain.

So also the ceremony of *dextratio* was observed by the *Fratres Arvales* when collecting the offering of first-fruits. These they received in their left, and at once passed on to their right hands: *C. I. L.* 6, 1, No. 2104 a, l. 26 ff.[2]

SUPERSTITIONS BASED UPON THE DERIVED ASSOCIATION OF RIGHT AND LEFT

There are a few superstitions or superstitious usages connected with the right and left which it is impossible to explain, except by supposing that they arose after the idea of lucky or favorable had become firmly attached to the right, and the reverse to the left. They are therefore directly dependent upon this association.

[1] *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichita Romane,* Vol. 2, p. 1587.
[2] Cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium,* Comment., p. 30.

"PES DEXTER" AND "PES SINISTER"

One of these is the common use of the phrase *pes dexter* and of its opposite *pes sinister.* Their origin lies in the custom of entering a temple or house with the right foot first:[1] Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 30, 5: 'His repleti voluptatibus cum conaremur in triclinium intrare, exclamavit unus ex pueris, qui super hoc officium erat positus: 'dextro pede.' Sine dubio paulisper trepidavimus ne contra praeceptum aliquis nostrum limen transiret. ceterum ut pariter movimus dextros gressus, servus nobis despoliatus procubuit ad pedes ac rogare coepit, ut se poenae eriperemus; rettulimus ergo dextros pedes dispensatoremque in atrio aureos numerantem deprecati sumus, ut servo remitteret poenam.'

By conforming with this requirement the visitor made his entrance under the most favorable circumstances and good luck was assured.

From Vitruvius we learn that this custom was of weight in the very construction of a temple: (*de Architectura,* 3, 4, 4) 'Gradus in fronte constituendi ita sunt uti sint semper impares. Namque cum dextri pede primus gradus ascendatur item in summo templo primus erit ponendus.' With this as its foundation, the phrase 'pede dextro' came to be used for any action begun or performed under favorable auspices: (Juvenal, 10, 5) 'quid tam dextro pede concipis ut te | conatus non paeniteat votique peracti'; Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 7, 172; Prudentius, *c. Symm.* 2, 79.

For *dexter* is sometimes substituted another word equivalent to its derived meaning of favorable: Vergil, *Aen.* 8, 302; 10, 255 (pede secundo); Horace, *Epist.* 2, 2, 3 (pede fausto); Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 514 (felici pede); *Her.* 21, 69-74.

So *sinistro pede* is used for unfavorable auspices: Apuleius, *Met.* 1, 5, 27: 'sed ut fieri adsolet, sinistro pede profectum

[1] Sutphen, *A Collection of Latin Proverbs,* p. 361.

me spes compendii frustrata est'; Ovid, *Met.* 10, 452, has the same reference: 'ter pedis offensi signo est revocata, ter omen. | funereus bubo letali carmine fecit; Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 3, 55; *Am.* 1, 12, 3 ff.; *Epist.* 21, 69.

The Two Ways

The figurative use of the two ways, the one for the righteous, the other for the wicked, is very old. Thus we find it in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 287 ff.: *τὴν μέν τοι κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἑλέσθαι | ῥηϊδίως· ὀλίγη μέν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει. | τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν | ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δε καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν | καὶ τρηχὺς το πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται | ῥηϊδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.* The same idea is repeated in Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, 2, 1, 21) where is recounted the Apologue of Hercules by Prodicus.

As is natural, the path of virtue is the one leading to the right; the path of vice, the one leading to the left: (*Anthologia Latina,* 148, l. 3)[1] 'Nam via virtutis dextrum petit ardua collem | Difficilemque aditum primo spectantibus offert, | Sed requiem praebet fessis in vertice summo'; Prudentius, c. *Symm.* 2, 882: 'Simplicis ergo viae dux est Deus: ille per unam | ire iubet mortale genus, quam dirigit ipse | sublimem dextro celsa ad fastigia clivo'; Prudentius *Hamartigenia,* 888. The idea pervades, also, the whole body of the late moral and apocalyptic literature.[2]

Taylor[3] states that the figure of the two ways, however ancient, must be a development from that of the one way, which a man walks in with guidance, and is in danger of missing without it. However, as Dieterich thinks, the idea was more probably transferred from the two roads which were

[1] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 4, p. 150.

[2] Dieterich, *Nekyia*, pp. 191, 192, 193; Taylor, 'The Two Ways in Hermes and Xenophon,' *Journal of Philology,* 21 (1893), p. 243 ff.

[3] *l. c.*, p. 256.

supposed to exist in Hades, the one on the right leading to Elysium, the one on the left leading to Tartarus. Vergil, *Aen.* 6, 540: 'hic locus est partis ubi se via findit in ambas: | dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit, | hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum | exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit'; Plato, *Republic,* 614 B and C: *ἔφη δέ, ἐπειδὴ οὗ ἐκβῆναι τὴν ψυχήν, πορεύεσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν, καὶ ἀφικνεῖσθαι σφᾶς εἰς τόπον τινὰ δαιμόνιον, ἐν ᾧ τῆς τε γῆς δύ' εἶναι χάσματα ἐχομένω ἀλλήλοιν καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὖ ἐν τῷ ἄνω ἄλλα καταντικρύ· δικαστὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων καθῆσθαι, οὕς, ἐπειδὴ διαδικάσειαν, τοὺς μὲν δικαίους κελεύειν πορεύεσθαι τὴν εἰς δεξιάν τε καὶ ἄνω διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, σημεῖα περιάψαντας τῶν δεδικασμένων ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀδίκους τὴν εἰς ἀριστεράν τε καὶ κάτω, ἔχοντας καὶ τούτους ἐν τῷ ὄπισθεν σημεῖα πάντων ὧν ἔπραξαν.*

The letter Y, or rather its old form ϒ (ɣ) was selected by Pythagoras to embody the image of the two paths. Hence it is called his letter: Persius 3, 56:[1] 'et tibi quae Samios diduxit littera ramos | surgentem dextro monstravit limite collem'; cf. Persius 5, 34. "The stem stood for the unconscious life of infancy and childhood, the diverging branches for the alternative offered to the youth, virtue or vice' (Conington); cf. Scholia on Persius 3, 56: 'quae Pythagoras Samo insula praecepit, qui Y ad modum humanae vitae figuravit . . . et in sinistra parte rami velut vitia sunt, quae devexior facilem ad se praestat ascensum. est altera dextera in qua virtutis opera celebrantur, arduum ac difficilem limitem pandens. quam qui evaserint quieta sede excipiuntur.'

Sneezing.

Sneezing was from very early times regarded as an important omen. It is found in Homer (*Odyss.* 17, 541): *Ὣς φάτο Τηλέμαχος δὲ μέγ' ἔπταρεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ δῶμα | σμερδαλέον κονά-*

[1] Notes on this passage by Gildersleeve, Jahn, and Conington, in their editions of Persius.

βησε· γέλασσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια, | αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Εὔμαιον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· | Ἔρχεό μοι, τὸν ξεῖνον ἐναντίον ὧδε κάλεσσον. | οὐχ ὁράᾳς ὅ μοι υἱὸς ἐπέπταρε πᾶσιν ἔπεσσιν; Ovid (*Her.* 18, 152) proves that it was lucky even in itself, without any reference to the side from which it came: 'Sternuit et lumen (posito nam scribimus illo) | sternuit et nobis prospera signa dedit'; Propertius, 2, 3, 24; Herodotus, 6, 107; Aristophanes, *Birds,* 720; Xenophon, *Anab.* 3, 2, 9; Aristotle, *De Animal. Hist.* 1, 492 b; *Probl.* 33; Theocritus, 7, 96; 18, 16. Plutarch, *Themistocles,* 119 A: *τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε.* Here the sneeze is on the right side, exactly as we would expect from what has been already observed with regard to the characteristics of the right.

A perfect parallel, although not quite as elegant, is Aristophanes, *Knights,* 638: *ταῦτα φροντίζοντί μοι | ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἀπέπαρδε καταπύγων ἀνήρ. | κἀγὼ προσέκυσα.*

Plutarch (*De Gen. Soc.* 581 A) shows that sneezing on the left was sometimes regarded as unfavorable: *ἀλλὰ μήν, ἔφη, καὶ αὐτὸς ὦ Γαλαξίδωρε Μεγαρικοῦ τινος ἤκουσα, Τερψίωνος δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον πταρμὸς ἦν, ὅ τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παρ' ἄλλων· ἑτέρου μὲν πταρόντος ἐκ δεξιᾶς, εἶτ' ὄπισθεν, εἶτ' ἔμπροσθεν, ὁρμᾶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν· εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς, ἀποτρέπεσθαι· τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ πταρμῶν τὸν μὲν ἔτι μέλλοντος βεβαιοῦν, τὸν δ' ἤδη πράσσοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ κωλύειν τὴν ὁρμήν.*

A great deal of difficulty has been found in the interpretation of certain passages in the forty-fifth poem of Catullus (45, l. 8): 'Hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistra ut ante, | Dextram sternuit approbationem'; the same is repeated in lines 17 and 18; and in lines 19 and 20 is added: 'Nunc ab auspicio bono profecti | Mutui animis amant amantur.'

There are two points here which afford trouble to the commentators. First, why *sinistra* and *dextram* should both be used; and secondly, what the phrase *ut ante* refers to. With

the latter we are not concerned. Instead of *dextram* the reading *dextra* is also found in the manuscripts; Ellis, however, seems to be correct in adopting *dextram,* and this reading furnishes a very simple interpretation.[1]

By some commentators it is supposed that the idea of unlucky or unfavorable is contained in *sinistra.* This view may be dismissed at once. Ellis holds that the notion is that of incomplete as opposed to complete approval. He translates: "When he had said this Love sneezed his good-will on the right as he had sneezed his good-will on the left before." The explanations, as a whole, seem to be rather forced, and there is really a much simpler one. It is first necessary to recognize that *sinistra* and *dextram* as used here come from two entirely distinct spheres, and that we have here a mixture of two elements; namely, those of augury and of popular usage. As is well known, and as will be seen later, the favorable side for the Romans when interpreting omens was the left. Therefore as Love is to give a favorable omen, Catullus causes him to sneeze on the left side of the two lovers. This much is plain. If now we remember the meaning which is so often attached to *dexter,* namely that of favorable or lucky, the passage becomes clear at once.

In short, *dextram* does not have here its primary meaning of right at all, but simply its later derived meaning of favorable. Thus *sinistra* and *dextram* agree perfectly, both expressing the idea that Love was favorable to the two lovers. Might not *ut ante* refer to the previous relations of the lovers, not merely to the particular moment described in the poem? Love had always been favorable to them, and therefore might readily be said to have hitherto always sneezed on their left, that is given them signs of his approval. We would, then,

[1] Each editor of Catullus has advanced a separate explanation of his own for this passage. The principal ones may be found in the note of Ellis on Catullus 45, ll. 8-9, also in his Excursus on 45, 8-9 (Commentary on Catullus, 2nd Ed., p. 162 ff.); also in Friedrich, Catullus, note on 45, ll. 8-9.

translate these two lines literally: When he had said this, Love on the left, as hitherto, sneezed his approval.

RIGHT AND LEFT IN AUGURY

The entire subject of augury has been very thoroughly studied, but as the right and the left played such an important part in the practice of augury it seems necessary to give a brief review of results already obtained. I. M. J. Valeton, in his article entitled *De Modis Auspicandi Romanorum,*[1] presents the most plausible solution of the much discussed questions which arise, and in the main his conclusions will be adopted.

Signa Impetrita

The chief point in which the use of right and left in augury differs from that which we have already seen, is the fact that the meaning of favorable is connected with *laevus* and *sinister.* This is due, however, to their association with a certain portion of the sky, which in turn must be traced to the position assumed by the augur when observing omens. Grimm[2] states that the primitive Aryan turned toward the east. The abode of the Aryan's gods was to the north, and the north was to the left, therefore north and left were lucky. The Romans preserved this view. But the Greeks and other Aryan peoples in historic times regarded the right as lucky; therefore they must have turned their right sides to the lucky north, that is they must have faced west. Still another view is held, namely that the east was lucky; therefore the Greeks, in order to have it on their right, faced north, while the Romans faced

[1] Mnemosyne, 17 (1889), pp. 275-325.

[2] *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache,* pp. 980-6.

south. Finally it is held by some writers that both these manners of orientation existed side by side.[1]

The space marked out in the air by the augur when preparing to observe his omens was known technically as the templum. Regell [2] thought that there were among the Romans themselves two forms of this templum, the one facing the east, in which birds were observed; the other facing the south for the observation of thunder. As Valeton proves, however, signs were observed either in a templum facing the east or without any at all, while looking in every direction; but never while facing the south. The manner of procedure followed by an augur when demanding certain signs from the gods is shown well in Livy, 1, 18, 6 ff.: '(Numa) de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure (. . .) deductus in arcem, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit. Dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septemtrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato dextra in caput Numae imposita precatus ita est: "Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines quos feci." Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quae mitti vellet; quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.'

This practice was followed by all succeeding augurs. That is all who sought either celestial signs or signs from birds faced the east steadfastly. The cause was simple, says Valeton, since to primitive man it would seem natural that the gods should send signs from the part of the sky from which rose

[1] Wissowa, *Religion der Römer*, p. 452; Jevons, 'Indo-European Modes of Orientation,' *Classical Review*, 10 (1896), p. 23.

[2] *Jahrb. für Class. Philol.*, 1881, pp. 593-637.

the sun, the stars, and indeed the whole movement of the universe; cf. Dionysius, *Antiquit. Rom.* 2, 5, 245.

The templum was always divided into two parts, right and left. To these were given special names: the right side, that is towards the south, being called the *antica;* the left side, towards the north, the *postica:* (Festus, 220) 'et dexteram anticam, sinistram posticam dicimus'; Servius, *Vergil, Ecl.* 9. 15. In interpreting signs which had been asked for, however, these parts of the templum did not form the basis for their being judged favorable or unfavorable. The augur asked that the gods should send the sign from a certain direction. If this was done the omen was favorable: (Cicero, *Div.* 1, 39, 85) 'quid augur (habet) cur a dextra corvus, a sinistra cornix faciat ratum.' The *cornix* will be favorable not because it appeared from the left, but because it was asked from the left. When good signs are called *sinistra,* i. e. *fausta,* they have not received this name from the left nor from the right part of the templum. Cf. Festus, 339: 'sinistrae aves sinistrumque est sinistimum auspicium, id quod sinat fieri'; Servius, *Aen.* 2, 693; Plutarch, *Qu. Rom.* 282 E.

Thus Cicero himself states that *sinister* is applied to all favorable omens whether they appear from the left or right: (*Div.* 2, 39, 82) "haud ignoro, quae bona sint, sinistra nos dicere, etiam si dextra sint"; Festus, 351.

So, too, when the gods wished to emphasize their approval and sent other signs besides those asked for, these were called *sinistra* and *laeva* in whatever part of the templum they appeared. To summarize, therefore, all signs seen in a templum, whether asked or voluntary, which are favorable are called *sinistra* and *laeva* with no reference to the parts of the templum: Plautus, *Pseud.* 762; Ennius, *Ann.* 3, fr. 7, l. 156;[1] Cicero, *Leg.* 3, 3, 9; *Div.* 2, 35, 74; *Fam.* 6, 6, 7; Lucan, *Phars.* 1, 601; Pliny, *Pan.* 5, 3.

Varro (*L. L.* 7, 7) speaks of another form of templum:

[1] Ed. Müller.

'Eius templi (caeli) partes quattuor dicuntur, sinistra ab oriente, dextra ab occasu, antica ad meridiem, postica ad septentrionem.' These words, according to Valeton, are to be referred to the gods themselves, not to a second method of orientation. The Romans agreed that the gods dwelt in the northern part of the heavens, and therefore the term *laevus* was applied to the east. Festus, 339: 'Varro l. 5 epistolicarum quaestionum ait; " a deorum sede cum in meridiem spectes ad sinistram sunt partes mundi exorientes, ad dexteram occidentes factum arbitror, ut sinistra meliora auspicia quam dextra esse existimentur." '

Signa Oblativa

In cases where signs were sent by the gods of their own volition, without any especial request, there were two methods of deciding whether they were favorable or the reverse. They might be judged either from the region or part of the sky in which they appeared, or from their position relative to the observer, that is whether they were seen on his right or left hand. In the case of the former, all signs which were seen in the eastern portion of the sky were to the Romans *sinistra,* i. e. *fausta.* This applied to birds, thunder, and lightning. Statius, *Theb.* 3, 491: 'Si datur et duris sedet haec sententia Parcis | Solvere Echionias Lernaea cuspide portus, | Signa feras, laevusque tones, tunc omnis in astris | Consonet arcana volucris bona murmura lingua. | Si prohibes, hic necte moras dextrisque profundum | Alitibus praetexe diem.'

In this example we have *dextris* with the meaning 'unfavorable' as opposed to *sinistris,* and referring to the western part of the sky: Ovid, *Fasti,* 4, 833: 'tonitru dedit omina laevo | Iuppiter, et laevo fulmina missa polo. | augurio laeti iaciunt fundamina cives'; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2, 54, 142: 'Laeva (fulmina) prospera existimantur, quoniam laeva parte mundi ortus est'; Ennius, *Ann.* 3, fr. 5 a l. 154; fr. 6, *β*, l. 155;[1] Cicero, 5, Marius, No. 19, l. 9 ff.;[2] Cicero, *Div.* 2,

[1] Ed. Müller.

[2] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 6, p. 305.

39, 82; *Phil.* 2, 38, 99; Vergil, *Aen.* 2, 692; 9, 631; Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 9, 49.

The reason for the east, and therefore the left, being the place for favorable omens has been already stated. When, therefore, *dexter, laevus,* or *sinister* are used in connection with the celestial signs, they must always be referred to the east or the west, never to the right or left hand sides.

With the Greeks also there existed the idea that the east was the best portion of the sky. With them, however, in direct opposition to the Romans, favorable omens appearing in the east were described by the epithet δεξιός, while ἀριστερός was applied to the unfavorable. Cicero, *Div.* 2, 39, 82: 'Quae autem est inter augures conveniens et coniuncta constantia? Ad nostri augurii consuetudinem dixit Ennius: tum tonuit laevum bene tempestate serena. At Homericus Aiax apud Achillem querens de ferocitate Troianorum nescio quid hoc modo nuntiat; prospera Iuppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit. Ita nobis sinistra videntur Graiis et barbaris dextra meliora. Quamquam haud ignoro quae bona sint sinistra nos dicere etiam si dextra sint. Sed certe nostri sinistrum nominaverunt externique dextrum quia plerumque id melius videbatur.'

In order to explain this difference, numerous theories have been advanced.[1] The explanation generally adopted is a difference in orientation, i. e., the Romans faced east, while the Greeks faced west. The difficulty then arises of accounting for the origin of this change. Valeton, however, offers an explanation which is exactly in line with what we have seen to be the case with regard to the right in general. He says: 'Auspicia oblativa, si in Oriente videbantur fausta erant Graecis. Haec ratio vero, ut apud Romanos, apud eos quoque coniuncta fuit cum altera ratione, qua signa bona quaedam plurimi aestimabantur si a dextra manu superveniebant; utraque apud Graecos simul viguit. Haec ratio autem, quae ad dextram manum pertinebat . . . ab initio . . . fere adhibita

[1] Cf. Grimm, *l. c.;* Jevons, *l. c.*

esse videtur ad signa aut domi aut sub divo in proxima vicinitate accepta, inprimis quae ad singulos homines referenda esse viderentur; haec signa enim, domestica praesertim, faciliorem habebant interpretationem ex parte corporis quam ex regione caeli. Altera ratio vero quae ad Orientis praestantiam pertinebat inprimis adhibebatur ut videtur, ad signa aëria et caelestia, ad ea praesertim quae magnae alicui hominum multitudini (cuius neque dextra pars certa erat neque laeva) apparebant. Sed utramque rationem ita coniungere et quasi conglutinare Graecis placuit, ut eodem vocabulo uterentur ad utrumque genus locorum designandum. Δεξιός dictus est et locus Orientalis et locus a dextra manu; ἀριστερός cum regio Occidentalis, tum locus a laeva manu. Causa huius metonymiae simplex et clara est; τὸ δεξιόν, quod erat nomen loci quo signa domestica et ad singulos homines pertinentia accipiebant vim insignem et plerumque salutarem, transferebatur ad eam regionem caeli, qua eandem vim habere credebantur signa caelestia et aëria et ad magnas multitudines hominum pertinentia; ita regio Orientalis τὰ δεξιά dicta i. e. loca pulchra sive meliora.'

Homer, *Il.* 13, 821: ὣς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις, | αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης· ἐπὶ δ' ἴαχε λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν θάρσυνος οἰωνῷ. Homer, *Od.* 20, 242: αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀριστερὸς ἦλυθεν ὄρνις, | αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης, ἔχε δὲ τρήρωνα πέλειαν. Homer, *Il.* 10, 274; 12, 201; 219: 239; 24, 294; 320; *Od.* 2, 154; 15, 160; 525; 24, 312; Plutarch, *Tib. Gracchus*, 832 C.

A rainbow, if seen in a dream on the right hand side, is declared by Artemidorus a good omen; if seen on the left, a bad one. The right and left sides, however, must be judged with reference to the sun: (*Onirocritica*, 2, 36) Ἶρις δεξιὰ μὲν ὁρωμένη ἀγαθή, εὐώνυμος δὲ πονηρά. δεξιὰν δὲ καὶ εὐώνυμον οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὁρῶντα χρὴ νοεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

Lightning flashing towards the right, that is the east, was a favorable omen: Homer, *Il.* 9, 236: Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων | ἀστράπτει. *Il.* 2, 353; Plutarch, *De Gen. Soc.* 594 D.

Pythagoras considered that there were certain parts of the universe *per se dexteras,* and others *per se laevas.* Aristotle, *De Caelo,* 284 b: *τινές εἰσιν οἵ φασιν εἶναί τι δεξιὸν καὶ ἀριστερὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καθάπερ οἱ καλούμενοι* Πυθαγόρειοι; Aristotle, fr. 200: *τὸ οὖν δεξιὸν καὶ ἄνω καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀγαθὸν ἐκάλουν* (*οἱ* Πυθαγόρειοι), *τὸ δὲ ἀριστερὸν καὶ κάτω καὶ ὄπισθεν κακὸν ἔλεγον.*

Aristotle claimed that the east was called the right part of the universe, because from it began the motion of the universe; (*De Caelo* 285 b) *δεξιὸν γὰρ ἑκάστου λέγομεν, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κατὰ τόπον κινήσεως· τοῦ δ' οὐρανοῦ ἀρχὴν τῆς περιφορᾶς ὅθεν αἱ ἀνατολαὶ τῶν ἄστρων, ὥστε τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη δεξιόν, οὗ δ' αἱ δύσεις, ἀριστερόν.* Plutarch, *De Plac. Phil.,* 888 B.

Signs were also judged from their position with regard to the observer. In this method those occurring on the right were favorable, while those occurring on the left were unfavorable. The reason is obvious, and in line with the usual custom, apart from augury. Propertius, 5, 1, 67: 'Roma, fave, tibi surgit opus, date candida cives | Omina et inceptis dextera cantet avis'; Ovid, *Her.* 2, 115: 'Cui mea virginitas avibus libata sinistris | Castaque fallaci zona recincta manu!' Cicero, 7, *Ilias,* No. 25:[1] "prospera Iuppiter his dextris fulgoribus edit'; Varro, *De Re Rustica* 3, 17, 10; Plautus, *Amph.* 333; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 2, 1, 1: *αὐτοῖς ἀετὸς δεξιὸς φανεὶς*; *Anab.* 6, 1, 23; *Cyrop.* 7, 1, 3; Pausanias, 4, 21, 7: *καὶ—ἤστραπτε γὰρ τούτοις κατὰ δεξιὰ—ἀπέφαινεν Ἔκας ὁ μάντις ὡς αἴσιον εἴη τὸ σημεῖον.*

Pliny states that a wolf stopping suddenly was a most powerful omen for those making a journey, provided he met them on their right hand side: (*Nat. Hist.* 8, 83) "eundem (lupum) in fame vesci terra. inter auguria, ad dexteram commeantium praeciso itinere si pleno id ore fecerit, nullum ominum praestantius."

An eagle appearing suddenly from the right side is declared

[1] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 6, p. 307.

a good omen by Suetonius, *Vitellius,* 9, 4: 'Praemisso agmini laetum evenit auspicium, siquidem a parte dextra repente aquila advolavit; lustratisque signis ingressus viam sensim antecessit.' So, also, an eagle perched on the right shoulder of the Emperor Claudius as he was entering the Forum: (Suetonius, *Claudius,* 7, 3) "evenitque ut primitus ingredienti cum fascibus forum, praetervolans aquila dexteriore umero considerat."

The trembling of a hedge on the left side is considered unlucky. Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 501: "Cum subito motu saepes tremuere sinistrae:— | Rettulit ille gradus, horrueruntque comae:— "

Augustus regarded it as an ill-omen to put on his left shoe before the right. Suetonius, *Augustus,* 92: "Auspicia et omina quaedam pro certissimis observabat; si mane sibi calceus perperam ac sinister pro dextro induceretur ut dirum"; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2, 7, 24.

In the case of celestial signs appearing in the east, their motion from left to right was sometimes of importance.[1] So in the description of the dream seen by Tarquinus Superbus, the augurs declared that it was an unfavorable omen for him, but favorable for the Roman people, since the sun had moved towards the right. Accius, *Brutus,* frs. 1 and 2;[2] fr. 1, l. 9: 'Exin prostratum terra, graviter saucium, | Resupinum in caelo contueri maximum | Mirificum facinus dextrorsum orbem flammeum | Radiatum solis linquier cursu novo'; fr. 2, l. 6: 'nam id quod de sole ostentum est tibi, | Populo commutationem rerum portendit fore | Perpropinquam. haec bene verruncent populo! nam quod dexterum | Cepit cursum ab laeva signum praepotens pulcherrume | Auguratum est rem Romanam publicam summam fore.'

We also find cases in which someone seeing a sign on his right side does not interpret this as favorable, but merely as

[1] Valeton, *l. c.*, p. 316.
[2] Ribbeck, *Sc. Rom. Poes. Frag.* 1, p. 328.

being of importance for him. This interpretation is quite rare and only belongs to those signs which seem to foretell something and which require the interpretation of some skilled person.[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, 21, 15, 2: '(Constantius) autumno iam senescente profectus cum ad suburbanum venisset disiunctum exinde tertio lapide, Hippocephalum nomine, lucente iam die cadaver hominis interfecti dextra iacens capite avulso conspexit, contra occiduum latus extensum; territusque omine, finem parantibus fatis, destinatius ipse tendebat'; Xenophon, *Anab.*, 6, 1, 23: *καὶ ὅτε ἐξ' Ἐφέσου ὡρμᾶτο Κύρῳ συσταθησόμενος, αἰετὸν ἀνεμιμνήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον, καθήμενον μέντοι, ὅνπερ ὁ μάντις, προπέμπων αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὅτι μέγας μὲν οἰωνὸς εἴη καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικός, καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐπίπονος μέντοι.*

Frequently, however, the regular augural usage persists, so that the sign which appears on the left is favorable, while that on the right is unfavorable. Thus the woodpecker and the crow, when seen by the observer on his left were good omens, while the raven or owl in order to be so had to be seen on the right. In this case neither the right nor the left side has in itself any lucky or unlucky force, but merely acquires it from the special birds. Plautus, *Asin.* 259: impetritum, inauguratumst: quo vis admittunt aves | picus et cornix ab laeva, corvos, parra ab dextera | consuadent"; Plautus, *Aulul.* 624; Cicero, *Div.* 1, 39, 85; Vergil, *Ecl.* 9, 16; Lucan, *Phars.* 5, 396; Phaedrus, 3, 18, 12; Horace, *Odes,* 3, 27, 13: 'sis licet felix ubicumque mavis, | et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas, | teque nec laevus vetet ire picus | nec vaga cornis.' Here *laevus* is used for *infaustus,* and the woodpecker is *laevus* because it appears on the right hand side. Cf. Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis,* 122, l. 177: 'haec ubi personuit, de caelo Delphicus ales | omina laeta dedit pepulitque meatibus auras. | nec non horrendi nemoris de parte sinistra | insolitae voces flamma sonuere sequenti.'

[1] Valeton, *l. c.*, p. 308.

In conclusion it may be well to give a list of those passages in which *dexter, sinister,* and *laevus* occur, used solely with their derived meanings of favorable and unfavorable, without the slightest reference to the right or the left. This will serve to show the frequency of their use, also the very early stage of the language in which such meanings were developed. Thus the first example of *dexter* meaning favorable is found in Vergil. However, *sinister* with the meaning unfavorable occurs in Catullus, and *laevus* still earlier in Lucilius.

Dexter = favorable:

Vergil, *Aen.* 2, 388; 4, 294; 579; 8, 302. *Aetna,* 4.
Propertius, 4, 1, 47; 8, 58; 5, 1, 72; 9, 72.
Horace, *Sat.* 2, 1, 18.
Ovid, *Ars Am.* 2, 145; *Trist.* 5, 3, 57; 5, 30; *Fast.* 1, 6; 67; 69; *Pont.* 4, 16, 24.
Persius, 2, 11; 3, 48.
Seneca, *Medea,* 68; *Nat. Quaest.* 1, 5, 14; 2, 32, 3.
Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 1, 245.
Statius, *Silv.* 1, 2, 32; 211; 3, 3, 146; 4, 63; 4, 7, 48; 5, 1, 13; 71; 144; 3, 121; *Theb.* 1, 717; 2, 153; 3, 157; 374; 6, 49; 7, 663; 732; 10, 132; 11, 704; 12, 211; *Achil.* 1, 558; 738.
Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 2, 543; 5, 85; 227; 11, 529; 13, 114; 820; 14, 467.
Apuleuis, *Met.* 2, 14, 123.
Claudian, 101, 124.
Prudentius, *Cath.* 73; *Peristeph.* 9, 105; *Apoth.* 9; *c. Symm.* 2, 493; 564.
Calpurnius, *Eclogae,* 3, 97.[1]
Aegritudo Perdicae, 281.[2]
Incerti *Ponticon Praefation,* 18.[3]

[1] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 3, p. 82.
[2] Baehrens, *l. c.,* 5, p. 124.
[3] Baehrens, *l. c.,* 3, p. 173, No. 32.

Dextere:

Livy, 1, 34, 12; 8, 36, 7.
Seneca, *Ad Polybium de Consolatione,* 6, 1.

Sinister = unfavorable:

Catullus, 29, 15.
Vergil, *Georg.* 1, 444; *Aen.* 10, 110; 11, 347.
Propertius, 4, 2, 9.
Ovid, *Her.* 13, 49; 21, 68.
Phaedrus, 2, 9 (Auctor) 16.
Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.* 7, 4, 10.
Columella, 1, 5, 8.
Seneca, *Troad.* 983; *De Ira,* 3, 3, 4; *Nat. Quaest,* 1, 5, 14.
Lucan, *Phars.* 8, 52.
Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 3, 303.
Quintilian, *Inst. Orator.* 11, 3, 68.
Statius, *Silv.* 3, 4, 76; 5, 3, 2; *Theb.* 1, 244; 647; 3, 538; 691; 6, 200; 701; 8, 177.
Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 1, 56; 2, 632; 9, 9; 10, 390; 12, 204; 13, 391; 17, 584.
Pliny, *Epist.* 7, 28, 3.
Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 74, 10; 6, 32, 16; 11, 19, 11; *Hist.* 1, 51, 25; 2, 93, 13; 5, 5, 2; *Agric.* 5, 15.
Juvenal, 2, 87.
Apuleius, *Met.* 11, 15, 782.
Claudian, 3, 20; 28, 274.
Prudentius, *Cath.* 2, 95; 6, 123; 7, 173; *Hamar.* 463; *Psych.* 19; *c. Symm.* 2, 684; *Peristeph.* 13, 21.
Dracontius, *Carm. Prof.* 8, 638.[1]
Anthologia Latina, 188, l. 12;[2] 196, l. 16;[3] 463, l. 5.[4]

[1] Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* 5, p. 183, No. 54.
[2] Baehrens, *l. c.,* 4, p. 185.
[3] Baehrens, *l. c.,* 4, p. 189.
[4] Baehrens, *l. c.,* 4, p. 397.

Sinistre:

Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 7, 12; 3, 52, 14.

Laevus = unfavorable:

Lucilius, *Sat.* 9, No. 237.[1]
Vergil, *Georg.* 4, 7; *Aen.* 2, 54; 10, 275.
Horace, *Sat.* 2, 4, 4; *Ars Poet.* 301.
Ovid, *Pont.* 4, 9, 119.
Aulus Gellius, 5, 12, 13.
Statius, *Silv.* 2, 3, 29; *Theb.* 1, 634; 2, 16; 4, 268; 502; 5, 307; 11, 444.
Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 5, 660; 7, 30.
Martial, 6, 85, 3.
Juvenal, 14, 228.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 14, 11, 12; 25, 6, 3.

Laeve:

Horace, *Epist.* 1, 7, 52.

[1] Baehrens, *l. c.*, 4, p. 173.

LIFE

Anthony Pelzer Wagener was born at Charleston, S. C., May 27, 1887. His preliminary education was received at the High School of Charleston. He then attended the College of Charleston, from which he received the degree of B. A. in 1906. In the same year he entered the Johns Hopkins University for graduate work, selecting as his subjects Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. He also pursued courses in Roman and Greek Archaeology and Italian. He held the Fellowship in Latin during the year 1909-1910.

He wishes to express his gratitude chiefly to Professors Smith, Wilson, Gildersleeve, Bloomfield, Robinson and Mustard, and to Associate Professor Miller for their many acts of kindness and assistance. Special acknowledgments are due to Professor Kirby Flower Smith, at whose suggestion this investigation was undertaken.

DATE DUE

JUN	1992		

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004

JUN 1942